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CONTENTS

	PAGE
BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY. By the late G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S.	1
THE SEQUENCE OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN PLATO'S 'REPUBLIC' COMPARED WITH THE ACTUAL HISTORY OF GREEK CITIES. By H. E. MALDEN, M.A.	53
THE OLD IRISH ON THE CONTINENT. By PROFESSOR JULIUS VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG.	75
THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS BY EDWARD I.: AN ESSAY IN EXPLANATION OF THE EXODUS, A.D. 1290. By GEORGE HARE LEONARD, M.A.	103
FRANCE AND CROMWELL. By HERBERT HAINES, M.A.	147
FREDERICK THE GREAT'S INVASION OF SAXONY AND THE PRUSSIAN 'MÉMOIRE RAISONNÉ,' 1756. By ARTHUR E. ROPES, M.A.	157
SPOLA. EASTER DAY IN ROME, 1849: A LINK IN THE CHAIN OF ITALIAN UNITY. By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R. Hist. S.	177
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FINE ARTS UNDER THE PURITANS. By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R.Hist. S.	205
THE DESIRABILITY OF TREATING HISTORY AS A SCIENCE OF ORIGINS. By J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.	229
ON LEARNING AND ON TEACHING HISTORY IN SCHOOLS, AND ON THE RESULTS OBTAINED BY SUCH TEACHING. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt. D., F.R.S.L., F.S.S.	241
THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH DURING THE SESSION 1889-91	259
INDEX	275

TRANSACTIONS

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BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

BY THE LATE G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S.

First Attempts—Allegories of the Classics—Babylonian Systems of Dating—The Chronological Tablets—Tablet of the Dynasties of Babylon—Philological Tablet—Tablet of the Royal Canon—Average of Reigns—Reconstruction of the Tablet—Data given by the Monuments—Exactly Accurate Chronology Impossible—List of all the Dynasties—Comparison with the Dynasties of Berosus—First Inhabitants of Babylonia—Semitic Occupation—Antediluvian Kings—Prophetism—Pre-Akkadian Semites—Akkadian Invasion and First Dynasty—The Kassites—Heroic Period—Semitic Renaissance—Rise of Babylon—Sisku Dynasty—Kassite Dynasty—Assyrian Influence—Elamite King—Second Period of Assyrian Influence—Fall of Nineveh—Persian and Greek Conquests—Last Days of Babylon.

MANY attempts have been made to establish with a degree of accuracy the Babylonian chronology, but all have failed from want of sufficient documents. Previous to the Assyriological discoveries the historians depended mainly, if not altogether, on the relations of Herodotus and Ctesias,¹ and both lived a long time after the Persian conquest of Babylon; mere travellers besides, and unacquainted with the language of the country, they were often imposed upon by their dragomans or misunderstood them.

¹ The fragments which pass as those of the history of Ctesias are no doubt those of a work of a Greek traveller who gave it as that of the physician of Artaxerxes.

The Jews, being in closer connection with the Babylonians, were better informed, and the information given in the Bible agrees with what was contained in the fragments of Berossus. The Christian historians and chronographers worked hard to make the statements in the Bible agree with those of the classics; these endeavours gave birth to the artificial system we find in George Syncellus, Eusebius, and others, and preserved till lately in the school books.

The Greeks had treated the Babylonian history as they had treated their own: tribes, nations, or dynasties were represented by names of supposed kings. It is only the discoveries of native monuments which give us the key of this system. Belus, the supposed founder of Babylon, who is said to have come from Egypt, represented the first Semites, Ninus the Akkadian, Semiramis the Sumerian rules, and Nynias probably the rise of the Assyrian power. It would be, of course, impossible to explain the system if we had not the native documents. Among the fables and allegories we find, however, sometimes real historical facts, like the fall of Sardanapalus;¹ but, indeed, this historical event has been much misrepresented, as in Sardanapalus we must see the rebel son of Salmanasar II., Assur-dan-apal, who truly died under the ruins of his town (about 823).

The legends and fables of the classics have now been rejected, but the historians have not been able to fill up the periods formerly attributed to the allegorical personages. I am now able to do so, thanks to the chronological tablets in the British Museum. That such tablets existed we already knew a long time ago by the fragments of Berossus, for, with the very deficient system of dating of the Babylonian, the reconstruction of the chronology would have offered too much difficulty without such tables.

The system of dating by the regnal years of the kings is

¹ This king is Assur-dan-apal, son of Salmanasar II., who put himself at the head of the inhabitants of the town of Assur, jealous of the pre-eminence given to Nineveh. He was defeated and buried himself under the ruins of Assur. The Greeks confounded this event with the fall of Assur-sar-iskun (Sarakos), the last king of Nineveh.

always unsatisfactory, for, if it gives the exact position of an event in the reign of a king, it is of little value if we do not know the position of this king in the chronology. At Babylon in the first dynasty they had, however, a worse system, the date being indicated by a remarkable event, as the opening of a channel, the consecration of an image to the gods, &c. The want of a system of consecutive dates was no doubt felt, for between about 3000 and 2000 several eras are made use of. We have the tablets dated from the fall of Karrak, or Larsa, &c. The Assyrians at an early date adopted the system of Eponym, but we would be at a loss to fix the date of each of them if we had not the list of Eponyms made up by the Ninevite scribes, and this only for the later part; in some cases the Assyrians seem to have had some doubts, as the four copies come down to us do not always agree, the difference being in some instances of two or three years.

It was, no doubt, to counteract the deficiency of the various systems of dating that these chronological tablets have been written.¹

The three chronological tablets I have spoken of—now in the British Museum—are in a very bad state of preservation, but it is by supplementing, as will be seen, one by the other that I have been able to reconstruct the complete list of the kings and dynasties from the earliest period. The first tablet,² which I call tablet A, contained when complete the full list of the kings, arranged in dynasties, from the rise of Babylon to power and to the rank of metropolis. The second,³ tablet B, is the most important, though we possess only a small fragment: it gave when complete the list of all

¹ The Assyrians and Babylonians were not, however, very particular about chronology and dates, for even at a very late period in historical documents we read statements beginning in this way: 'In a certain year,' or 'In a year unknown.' The deficiency of the system of dating by the year of the king is well illustrated by the Egyptian history; for instance, though every year of Ramses is well known, the writers disagree among themselves to the extent of centuries as to the age of this king.

² Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* May 1884.

³ Published by G. Smith, *S.B.A.* vol. iii. Part II. 1874.

the kings of Babylon, from the time considered, as we shall see, historical by the Babylonians, arranged by dynasties, with the numbers of the years of each king and the summation of each dynasty. The third,¹ tablet C, gave the list of the Akkadian, Sumerian, and Kassite kings who ruled over Babylon previous to the Semitic renaissance. Each name is accompanied with its translation in Semitic Babylonian, but without any mention of years, as the list appears to have been made simply to give the translation.

The first tablet is easily completed, as by a fortunate accident the summations of nearly all the dynasties are preserved. The first dynasty which was missing is fortunately supplemented by a small tablet,² also in the British Museum, giving the first and second dynasties with the numbers of the years of the first. The last dynasty, the summation of which is also lost, is easily reconstructed by means of the Assyrian documents, as it begins in 732 with Ukinzir. The length of the tablet is ascertained by the number of the kings of the third dynasty, which extends from column 1 to column 2. The summation says 36 kings, and as the name of the first king, Kandis, in the first column is opposite that of Meli-Sihu, the last but three in the second column; it is certain that the tablet contained 32 lines in each column. We can therefore reconstruct the tablet thus :—

(Obverse) First column.—Dynasty of Babylon, 11 kings and summation 12 lines; dynasty of Sisku, 11 kings and summation 12 lines, and 8 kings of the Kassite dynasty: total 32 lines. Second column.—28 names and one line summation of the Kassite dynasty and 3 names of the dynasty of Pase: total 32. (Reverse) Third column (right-hand side³).—8 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase, 3 names and summation of the Tamtim dynasty, 3 names and summation

¹ Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* January 1881. The contents of these three tablets are given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i.

² Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* December 1880.

³ On the obverse of tablets the columns run from left to right, but on the reverse from right to left.

of the Basi dynasty, 1 line for an Elamite king, and 12 names of the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty: total only 30 lines, because space is lost by the ruling of separation lines after the dynasties each side of the summation. Fourth column (left-hand side).—5 names and summation of the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty. The rest of the column was no doubt covered with 21 names (as the tablet was probably written under Nabonidus) and the Colophon.

It may be noticed that as this tablet had for principal object chronology the names of the kings are sometimes written in abbreviation; for instance, in the second dynasty, Kian for Kianibi, Gulki for Gulkisar, and in the last dynasty the name of the well-known king Kandalanu is given as Kandal.

A great many of the missing names in this tablet have also to be supplied from the synchronic history,¹ which gave all the instances in which the Assyrian and Babylonian empires came in connection, and also from the Babylonian chronicle.²

The tablet so reconstructed contains the names of 115 kings, divided into nine dynasties, and covers 1,833 years, from B.C. 2371 to 538, the first year of Cyrus.

The tablet C, which might also be called the philological tablet, contained also four columns, two on each side; each column is divided into two, the left-hand side containing the names of the kings and the right-hand side their translation. As for the number of lines, it is not so easily ascertained, because there are no summations, but Assyriologists accustomed to handle tablets can without difficulty determine the middle of a tablet, and, as in this case half of the tablet only has been lost, the probable number of lines in each column can be fixed with almost certainty. In my estimate I follow the

¹ All the fragments of the tablets containing this history have not been published and some appear to be missing, though G. Smith consulted them. Professor Sayce has given a translation (*Records of the Past*, vol. iii.) of what he could get at the time (1874). Some other fragments have been found since.

² Published by Mr. Pinches in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* The translation is also given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. p. 232 *et seq.*

conclusions of Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, who, examining tablets every day, is more likely to get an accurate idea of the primitive state of our tablet.¹ The tablet was distributed thus :—Column 1 (obverse) : 40 names, the last 12 being preserved and are Akkadian ; the last but one is that of Sargina, or Sargon, and the last that of a queen, Azag-Bau ; then between two division lines this observation : ‘These are the kings who, after the Flood, did not write as to the order of one another.’ Then follow nine names, all Kassite. Column 2 : the first 33 lines are lost, then follow 27 names Sumerian : 1 line is lost at the end. Column 3 (reverse) : 2 lines are lost, then come 18 names, Akkadian, and 9 Sumerian ; the end of the column 32 lines are lost. Column 4 : 13 names, Kassite ; then follow several lines, partly destroyed, with division lines, which contained perhaps the summation, observations, and the Colophon.

The total of the names which the tablet contained when complete is 40 before the observation in the first column, and 149 in the rest. The change of the language to which the names belonged indicates, as we shall show, a change of dynasty. We have not, unfortunately, any native documents which might determine the number of years covered by this long list of kings. After much thought I had recourse to the method of average,² and I was rewarded, as will be seen by the most complete and unexpected success.

After having examined many successions or dynasties of kings of modern as well as of ancient times it becomes evident that the duration of the reigns follows certain laws, which when philosophically considered are most rational. In quiet times the average of reign is 20 years, or even 26 : this happens generally at the beginning of a dynasty, and is easy to understand ; for if a conqueror or an usurper, as are generally

¹ Professor Sayce accepts also the estimate of Mr. Pinches for the number of the missing lines.

² I do not think that this system of average has ever been resorted to, but it is remarkable that the average of fifteen for a reign stands good, not only for ancient, but also modern times. The longer the period, the more accurate the average.

the founders of dynasties, had only a short reign, he could not have time to establish himself strongly enough to pass the crown to his heirs. For this reason Alexander and Napoleon founded no dynasty ; on the contrary, Augustus and Charlemagne had a long reign. In troubled times, and especially at the end of dynasties, the average falls to ten and even five years ; again this is rational, because it is the law of nature that those who play the more prominent part should be sooner exhausted. Royal families after a time seem to be worn out, so to say ; that explains why they die out. Another cause which contributes to shorten the reigns of the kings at the end of dynasties is that then the country often falls into anarchy, either because a nation as a family after playing an important part on the stage of the world becomes effete and worn out, or from some other causes as yet undetermined. Taken altogether, the dynasties of all nations and periods give an average of 16 years for each reign, or more accurately $15\frac{1}{2}$ years. I have chosen the number 15 because it is more easily worked, and not to be accused of exaggeration. It may be noticed that this average is confirmed by the figures given by the tablet A, which gives for the 115 kings 1,833 years, that is, a little less than 16 years for each. Taking, therefore, this number of 15 years for the average of each reign, we have for the 50 kings previous to the observation in the first column 750 years. I say 745 to obtain a round number, as will be seen. The rest of the tablet contained the names of 149 kings, with the average of 15 years for each : it gave a total of 2,235 years. All these kings had non-Semitic names.

Of the tablet B, which contained once the Royal Canon of Babylon, we possess only a small fragment, but as it belongs to the middle of the tablet we see that the tablet primitively contained three columns on each side. The number of the lines on each column can be ascertained exactly ; on the middle column of the reverse (that is, column 5), is the name of Simmas-Siku, first king of the dynasty of Tamtim, and exactly opposite on the column 3 (that is, the right-hand side of

reverse) is the name of the first king of the dynasty of Babylon, Sumu-abi. As we know that there were from this king to the other 69 names and 4 summations, the columns of the tablet must have contained 73 lines. In this case the 73 lines were:—11 names and summation of the dynasty of Babylon, 12 lines; 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Sisku, 12 lines; 36 names and summation of the Kassite dynasty, 37 lines; 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase, 12: total 73. This shows us also that the dynasty of Babylon, by which begins the tablet A, was preceded on the tablet B by a long series of kings, whose names covered the three columns of the obverse, and about a third of column 4 on the reverse. These kings must have therefore belonged to a period previous to B.C. 2371.

Who were these kings? To answer we must turn to the philological list of tablet C, for the obverse of the fragment of the tablet B is nearly entirely effaced; we have only, on what was line 41 of column 1, the end of the line, which shows the summation 600 years, and in the middle column (column 2) three names of kings.

After many efforts and attempts one thing became clear to me—it is that the Babylonians had in their chronology a period which they considered as marking the starting point of historical times. This we might have guessed before, as on the philological list (tablet B) it is stated, after the first group of names, that their chronological order is uncertain. I tried, therefore, to begin the tablet B by the Kassite dynasty led by Hammurabi, and everything fitted admirably. It is evident that the royal canon contained in tablet B was historical, and therefore began with Hammurabi, considered by the Babylonians as the first historical king.

With the help of the philological list we can therefore reconstruct the dynasty in the following manner, giving at the same time to the dynasties the sum of the average of 15 years for each king:—

Column 1 (obverse) began with the Kassite dynasty of 40 kings for 600 years; this number is given by the tablet, and

confirms in a remarkable way my calculation. Then came 31 Sumerian kings; column 2 began by 5 Sumerian names, followed by the summation of the first Sumerian dynasty of 35 kings for 525 years; then 20 Akkadian names and summation of the second Akkadian dynasty of 20 kings for 300 years; then the nine names and summation of the second Sumerian dynasty of 9 kings for 135 years. Then there is a long break in the philological list; we are therefore unable to supply the names of the kings. Fortunately this break corresponds to the three lines preserved on the tablet B, and they show that the dynasty following there was Akkadian.¹ From the number of the lines we see that it contained 30 kings for 450 years; the column ended with the first seven names of the second Kassite dynasty. Column 3 began the last eight names and summation of the second Kassite dynasty of 15 kings for 225 years.

Here the philological list (tablet C) ends. The explanation is simple. The writer of this tablet had as his object simply to give the list of the kings' names, which were not Semitic, with the translation of them; he therefore began probably with the names of the kings of the first Akkadian dynasty, whose chronological order was uncertain, and extended down to the end of the second Kassite dynasty, after which came the Semitic renaissance. It is certain that the first dynasty of Babylon began on the thirtieth or thirty-third lines of the fourth column; therefore most of the third column, and the beginning of the fourth, was covered by the names of the Semitic dynasty, which, judging from the number of lines, contained 110 names, and the summation of a Semitic dynasty of 110 kings for 1,650 years; but I make it 1,649 years to obtain a round number with the date of the first dynasty of Babylon, B.C. 2371.

The rest of the tablet is easily reconstructed. On column 4, after the summation of the Semitic dynasty, came 11

¹ One name is Semitic, Apil-Sin; but this is not surprising. We are coming near the Semitic renaissance, and probably the Semites were already coming to the front.

names and summation of the dynasty of Babylon of 11 kings for 294 years; the 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Sisku of 11 kings for 368 years; and the beginning of the Kassite dynasty, column 5, began with the last names and summation of the Kassite dynasty of 36 kings for 576 years 9 months; then came the 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase of 11 kings for 72 years 5 months. Here begins the fragment of the tablet, and we see that the scribe has given more than one line to each king. The end of the column is filled up with the dynasty of Tamtim, 3 kings for 21 years 5 months; the dynasty of Basi, 3 kings for 20 years 3 months; the Elamite dynasty, composed of one king only for 6 years; the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty of 17 kings for 280 years; and the first few names of the second Assyro-Babylonian dynasty. The sixth and last column began with the last names of the second Assyro-Babylonian dynasty of 22 kings for 194 years. But as the tablet was probably written under Assurbanipal, it contained probably only 14 names. It was followed by the Colophon, but the greater part of the column was blank, as we see from the fragment which extends partly on column 6.

To give an idea of the tablets I give a drawing of them, with lines marking the extent of the tablets when they were complete. The reader will be able to reconstruct easily tablet B, containing the complete canon of the kings from Hammurabi I., the first historical king of Babylon.

Whatever may be the conclusions arrived at, it is indispensable that they should be confirmed and supported by the data given by the inscriptions, and to show that the conclusions arrived at have nothing to fear from such comparisons I will give here the list of the data given by the inscriptions, and which have served as base to all the previous attempts.

1. Sargon, King of Nineveh (B.C. 722-705), but speaking as King of Babylon, says ¹ the 350 kings (no doubt in round numbers) ruled before him over Babylonia. Sargon probably

¹ *W.A.I.* i. pl. 36; *Records of the Past*, iii. p. 4.

speaks only of the historical kings from Hammurabi I.; and effectively from this king to Sargon we count 355 kings of Babylon.

2. The same king, to speak of the most ancient time, says¹ from the time of Adi-Ur. This is the name of the first king of the mythical dynasty previous to the Flood.

3. Nabonidus (555-538) says² that Sagasalti-Burias ruled 800 years before him, *i.e.* 1355.

4. The same king says³ that Naramsin ruled 3,200 years before him, *i.e.* 3755, and as we know that Sargon of Agade ruled 45 years, it places the beginning of this early king at 3800, that is, at the beginning of the Semitic dynasty.

5. The same king says⁴ that Burnaburias ruled 700 years after Hammurabi (2259-2214), therefore in about 1560.

6. Assurbanipal (667-624) says⁵ that Kudur-Nanhundi took Babylon 1,635 before his own conquest of Elam in 645, *i.e.* in 2280.

7. Tiglath-pileser I. (1320-1300) says⁶ that Assur-dan ruled 60 years before him, *i.e.* 1880.

8. The same king says⁷ that Samû-Ramamu, Petesi of Assur, ruled 641 before Assur-dan, therefore in 2021.

9. We arrive now at a very difficult question. Sennacherib says⁸ that the seal of Tugulti-Ninip I. was carried away to Babylon 600 years before his capture of Babylon in 692, and in the Bavian inscription he states that the image of Sala was carried from Nineveh by Marduk-nadin-ahe, King of Babylon, under the reign of Tiglath-pileser I., King of Assyria, 418 years⁹ before the same capture of Babylon in 692. It has been supposed that the capture of the seal of Tugulti-Ninip

¹ See my *Pre-Akkadian Semites*, *Journal R.A.S.* xviii. Part III.

² *W.A.I.* v. pl. 64, col. 3, l. 27, 28.

³ *Ibid.* col. 2, l. 56 *et seq.*; *Records of the Past*, new series, i. p. 5.

⁴ *W.A.I.* vol. i. pl. 69, col. 2, l. 4 *et seq.* As published, the passage is not clear, but new fragments have been found since which take away all doubts.

⁵ Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 254.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. p. 117.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *W.A.I.* iii. pl. 4, No. 2.

⁹ This number is at the beginning of line 50. This inscription has been often translated. The translation of Mr. Pinches appeared in the *Records of the Past*.

took place under the reign of this very king, and these two dates, 1292 for the first reference and 1110 for the other, have been the tap-root of the Assyrian chronology for most Assyriologists, and as a consequence they have been obliged to give the most extravagant length to the reigns of the Ninevite kings from Tugulti-Ninip to Tiglath-pileser. Between these two there are only five kings, and they can hardly cover a period of 182 years. I have myself tried in vain to conciliate the two statements, and at last I came to the conclusion that the two passages refer to the same event—the defeat of Tiglath-pileser by Marduk-nadin-ahe. The Babylonian king appears to have taken Nineveh, and carried away his plunder, including the seal of Tugulti-Ninip and the images of several gods. In the first case the figure is probably given as a round number, and in the second case it is to be corrected into 618 instead of 418. I have examined the passage containing the first statement, and there is doubt in the reading of 600 years; for the other passage it is another matter. It is on a rock in Asia, and I have tried in vain to obtain the squeeze of the inscription now in the British Museum.¹ However, if the inscription really gives the number 418 I should regard it as a mistake of the scribe, who would have forgotten two wedges writing ∇ Y - instead of YYY Y -. This correction places, therefore, the expedition of Marduk-nadin-ahe in the year 1310.

10. Lately numerous cuneiform tablets have been found in Egypt at Tell-el-amarna, and among them a letter of Burnaburias,² King of Babylon, to Amenophis III., King

¹ When I applied at the British Museum I was told that I might look for myself in the heap of squeezes preserved behind the Assyrian Bull, and Mr. Thompson had the whole turned out for me, but after spending three days I gave it up, as to go through the whole of the squeezes would require several months, and the Bavarian inscription might not be, after all, in that heap, as other squeezes are preserved in other parts of the British Museum. The arrangements at the British Museum are far from satisfactory: if a student wish to collate a squeeze he has to find it himself; when he has done, it is again heaped up with the others, so that a new student wishing to consult the same squeeze has to go to the same trouble. Since I read this paper Mr. Boscowen told me that he and Professor Delitzsch have noticed the error, and that on the squeeze there is really 618 and not 418.

² This letter, with some other tablets, has been acquired by the British Museum. It has been published with a few bad mistakes by Mr. Budge in *Proc. of the*

of Egypt, and comes to confirm the fact that the Babylonian king ruled about the year 1560.

11. The synchronous history, though not giving dates, is of great importance, as it shows which kings of the two countries of Assyria and Babylonia were contemporaneous. This document began with Assur-sum-esis (1625-1610); it gives, therefore, useful informations, and the synchronism of the various kings must be respected.

12. The Assyrian Eponym canon and the Assyrian chronicle fix with certainty the Assyrian chronology from 891, and therefore serve to fix also the dates of many events in Babylonia.¹ The Babylonian Chronicle, which begins with the third year of Nabonassar, makes certain the dates of the last Assyro-Babylonian dynasty.

Here may be noticed that an exactly accurate chronology is impossible, because the various nations, or even the same nation at different periods, had not the same calendar,² so that the same event given by two writers, though agreeing perfectly, may appear to be placed in two different years. The Babylonian year in the historical period began with the month *Nisannu* in March, but there is evidence that it was not always so; the year was besides a very vague one; intercalary months and supplementary days were added arbitrarily when it was noticed that the festivals would not coincide with the natural phenomena they were to celebrate.

S.B.A. together with two other tablets and some extracts. For the last two years the authorities have promised the publication of all of them, and in the meanwhile they do not allow anyone to publish any part of them—which is rather surprising, when Mr. Budge was allowed to publish the most important, for I cannot believe that he would have done so without permission.

¹ These two documents are given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. ii.

² The Egyptian year began in August, the Persian and Armenian also; but the Athenian in June, the Macedonian in September, the Syrian began with *Tisri* (September-October), the Greco-Syrian with *Elul* (August-September). The beginning of the year varied even with the towns—at Tyr on October 19, at Gaza on the 28th of the same month, at Damas on the spring equinox. To make things worse, there are doubts about the beginning of the various eras: the Seleucidian era, which is used in some tablets, is fixed by some in 312, or 311, or even 310. I have adopted the first date, which is given by Ptolemy. It may be noticed that the era of Nabonassar never existed, but was invented by Ptolemy.

Here follows a table of the Babylonian dynasties as reconstructed by the examination of the chronological tablets and other documents :—

Mythical and Prehistoric Period.

Antediluvian dynasty, 10 kings.

Circa B.C. 7500? Pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty.

7000 Akkadian first dynasty, 50 kings for 7,457 years.

Heroic Period.

Circa B.C. 6255 First Kassite dynasty, 40 kings for 600 years.

5655	First Sumerian	„	35	„	525	„
5130	Second Akkadian	„	20	„	300	„
4830	Second Sumerian	„	9	„	135	„
4695	Third Akkadian	„	30	„	450	„
4245	Second Kassite	„	15	„	225	„

First Historical Period—National Dynasties.

4020	Semitic dynasty,	110	kings for	1,649	years.	
2371	Dynasty of Babylon	11	kings for	294	„	
2077	„ Sisku	11	„	368	„	
1709	Kassite dynasty	36	„	576	„	9 months.
1132	Dynasty of Pase	11	„	72	„	6 „
1060	„ Tamtim	3	„	21	„	5 „
1038	„ Basi	3	„	20	„	3 „
1018	Elamite dynasty	1	king for	6	„	
1012	First Assyro-Babylonian dynasty	17	kings for	280	„	
732	Second Assyro-Babylonian dynasty	22	„	194	„	

Second Historical Period—Foreign Dynasties.

538	Persian dynasty	13	kings for	207	years.
331	Alexander's dynasty	3	„	19	„
	Seleucidian era.				

Professor Sayce has often dwelt on the remarkable accuracy of the statements of Berosus, though they have come down to us through ignorance, and in some cases bad-faithed copyists. After having reconstructed the Babylonian chronology, I am obliged to render to the Babylonian historian the same tribute. To show the remarkable accuracy of Berosus, it suffices to draw a table of his dynasties side by side with those given by the native documents :—

Monuments.

Antediluvian kings.
 Pre-Akkadian Semites.
 Akkadian first dynasty.
 Heroic period, 6 dynasties of 149 kings
 for 2,235 years.
 Semitic dynasty, 110 kings for 1,649
 years.

Berosus.

Antediluvian kings.
 (Evekhous for 2,400 years.)
 (Khomasbelus for 2,700 years.)

Semitic dynasty, 86 kings.

Dynasty of Babylon, 11 kings 194 y.				Median dynasty 8 kings for 224 y.			
„	Sisku	11	„ 368 „	Unnamed	„	11	„ 358 „
„	Kassite	36	„ 576 „ 9 m.	Chaldaean	„	49	„ 458 „
„	Pase	11	„ 72 „ 6 „	Arab	„	9	„ 245 „
„	Tamtim	3	„ 21 „ 5 „	Assyrian	„	45	„ 526 „
„	Basi	3	„ 20 „ 3 „				
„	Elam	1	king 6 „				
„	Ass. &						
„	Bab.	17	kings 280 years				
„	„ (2nd)	22	„ 194 „				

N. From the dynasty of Babylon, 115
 kings for 1,832 years 11 months.

From the Median dynasty, 122
 kings for 1,811 years.

All the abbreviators and copyists of Berosus misunderstood the plan he had followed, as he speaks of the antediluvian kings they placed after the Flood, the dynasty of 86 kings, and identified Evekhous, who was included in it, with Nimrod, supposed builder of the tower of Babel. Accustomed to consider the date of Nabonassar, given by Ptolemy, as the standard date, they assumed that the dynasty of 45 Assyrian kings finished there and ridiculously placed after it Phulus and Nabonassar.¹ Not being able either to give up entirely all the fables reported by the classics, they placed after the Arabian dynasty the mythical Semiramis, but Berosus mentions her only to complain of the introduction of the myth by Herodotus into Babylonian history.²

Berosus had as his object, not the history of Babylonia, but

¹ This would place the beginning of the first dynasty of Babylon, called Median by Berosus, according to the number given by his copyists, in 2559—nearly two centuries earlier than the chronological tablet.

² G. Smith seems to have understood it so, for in his table of the Berosian dynasties he leaves out this mythical queen (*Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 4).

that of Babylon ; he began, therefore, with the first dynasty of Babylon, which is called in his abbreviator Median. This name has given rise to a great deal of misapprehension and to the notion that an Aryan population ruled over Babylon. But this name of Median is not here derived from Media, but from the Babylonian *matu*,¹ 'country.' Babylon was for the Babylonians the country *par excellence* as Rome was *Urbs* for the Romans. The name of the second dynasty appears to have been forgotten by the copyists, but the right number of kings is preserved. The Chaldæan dynasty is the Kassite of the tablet,² but in the tablet the name is lost ; and though the greater number of the kings are Kassite, there are also many Semitic, and the name Chaldæan, or rather Babylonian, might be applied to the dynasty, especially as the Kassites always adopted the manners, customs, and even language of the conquered. The Arab dynasty of 9 kings corresponds to the dynasty of Pase : this was the name of a town near Babylon. Perhaps, as it was in the direction of the desert, the kings coming from this place have been called Arab. The Assyrian dynasty of 45 kings represented for Berosus the period of Assyrian influence, and corresponds to the last five dynasties of the tablet, giving together 46 kings.³

The figures representing the number of years attributed to each dynasty appear to have suffered much more from the hands of the copyists, but it would seem that they had summations to guide themselves, for when they reduced the years of one dynasty they increased those of the next. It is remarkable that the summation of the six dynasties of

¹ The word *matu* is considered by most Assyriologists as Akkadian in origin, and its pronunciation is then *mada*. I believe, however, the name to be Semitic, but this does not affect the question, as the Babylonians attributed everything to the Akkadians, and often changed the words to force an Akkadian etymology.

² There is a difference in the number of kings, but figures are easily mistranscribed ; besides, Berosus may have given more names than the tablet, which sometimes has neglected unimportant kings. For the following Arab dynasty (Pase of the tablet) the reverse happened ; Berosus evidently neglected those kings who only ruled a few months.

³ This number of forty-six kings, with that of the tablet, forty-five, is striking, and is also an argument against terminating the Berosian dynasty at Nabonassar.

Berosus gives 122 kings for 1,811 years, against 115 kings for 1,832 years and 11 months: the difference is not 22 years. As for the number of the kings, it may be that Berosus included in his Chaldaean dynasty kings neglected in the chronological tablet as unimportant; it may be noticed that more than 36 names of kings have been recovered for this period; there are therefore certainly names omitted.

Though the Babylonian history previous to the rise of Babylon did not enter in the plan of Berosus, he spoke of it. He gave first the 10 mythical kings previous to the Flood. Afterwards he spoke, summarily no doubt, of the prehistoric and heroic dynasties. It seems that we have distorted remains of his statements in the mention of the two kings, Evekhous and Khomasbelus, who have been included in the dynasty of 86 kings. These two kings seem to represent, the first the period previous to the Kassite invasion—that is, the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasties, perhaps 110 kings for 1,650 years, and the first Akkadian dynasty of 50 kings for 750 years; he received therefore 2,400 years. The second represents the six dynasties of the heroic period, 149 kings for 2,235 years, and 2,700 years are attributed to him. If we accept this explanation it puts back the first pre-Akkadian or first Semitic king as far as B.C. 8650, which is not an impossible figure.¹

The first inhabitants of Babylonia were no doubt the representatives of the low race² which is found everywhere previous to the arrival of what has been called the nobler races. They have left no records, because they accept always the language and customs of the conqueror. Previous to the Semitic invasion they wandered, perhaps for centuries, in the thick virgin forests which then covered Babylonia,

¹ As these explanations are mere supposition I have not included this number in my table. I suppose provisionally the first Semitic invasion to have taken place 500 years before the Akkadian conquest, but I believe that it took place much earlier.

² I called this race the ground race, because it forms, so to say, the lower stratum of the population everywhere. See my paper 'The Races of the Babylonian Empire,' *Journal of the Anthrop. Institute*, November 1888.

disputing their food with the wild beasts. The Persian Gulf then extended much farther inland, and half of the country was covered with marshes.¹ These savage inhabitants have left no traces, unless the flint implements found in Babylonia are to be attributed to their skill,² and they have been absorbed by the Semitic population, though now and then we see revivals of their type on the monuments. As this population always lives in a state of freedom or anarchy, it is not really conquered, but sees simply its country occupied.

The Semites who took possession of Babylonia came from Syria. The race seems to be originally of the south part of Egypt,³ and to have been repulsed by the ancestors of the Egyptians in prehistoric times. After having made a long stay in the region of Arabia Felix, where they acquired the very marked characteristics of the race, they extended into Arabia. Those who remained appear to have still retained a certain connection with Egypt, as indicate the common legends; they occupied little by little Syria, and from Syria passed into Babylonia. Possibly they took the road across the desert, which was then a fertile country.

Before going farther we will examine the mythical dynasty of the kings before the Flood.

It is difficult to say who were the kings who compose the antediluvian dynasty. Do they represent really a certain period, or are they kings of a later age who have been placed in the mythic period by the popular imagination? It is impossible to say; however, their names, as I have remarked elsewhere,⁴ are Semitic. Adiur, the first king, and Ardututu and Umnapisti are mentioned on the monuments. The second king, called Alaparus or Alasparus, is probably *Ilu-*

¹ This has been proved by Loftus in several papers read before the Royal Geographical Society.

² Some may be seen in the British Museum.

³ See my paper 'Origin and Primitive Home of the Semites' in the *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*; also my paper 'Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns' in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* vol. xvii. Part I. Since writing these papers I have gathered a great many more proofs.

⁴ In my *Pre-Akkadian Semites* the names of these kings have been so mutilated that identification is sometimes impossible.

ishpar, the third Amelon or Amillarus, probably *Amil-Ur*; the sixth king Daonus, or Daos, is perhaps *Dānu*, the judge, unless we have the name of Tammuz. *Damuzi*, as the name of *Samas* was transcribed *Saos* by the Greeks, the letter 'm' being dropped. In Euedoreskhus, or Euedorakhus, we may have the name of Merodach, *Maruduk* or *Amaruduk*, the Babylonian divinity, and as this name has been identified with that of Nimrod, it is probably a king of the pre-Akkadian dynasty.

At a later date this period was considered as allegorical and astronomical; the duration of each reign was changed according to the theories of the various writers. In the fragment of Berosus, as we possess it, the ten kings appear to have been assimilated to the ten most brilliant stars of the ecliptic, and the length of their reigns calculated to represent their relative position. Originally they represented the primitive ten divisions of the year.

One of the most striking characteristics of this period is prophetism, that is, a great moral influence acquired by popular preachers over the people, unsupported by any civil force, as we see it among the Jews at a later date. In Babylonia at the earliest period prophets appeared at various times and exercised a great civilising influence. At a later date these prophets were considered as Avatars of the God of Wisdom. The names of these prophets have been so mis-copied by the abbreviators of Berosus, that it is nearly impossible to guess the real and primitive form.

It is propable that the mythical dynasty contains some of the kings of the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty, and for this reason it is perhaps impossible to recover the names of the kings of this dynasty. Belus is no other than the national god of the Semites, Bel, 'the lord.' We are, however, told that it is under his guidance that the Semites left Egypt and took possession of Babylonia.¹ Nimrod, another king of this dynasty, is the same as *Maruduk*, shorter form of *Amaruduk*

¹ Suidas says that Babylon was founded by a colony from Egypt led by Belus.

and *Namaruduk*. This king, according to the tradition preserved in Genesis,¹ extended the Semitic influence to the north and founded several cities in Assyria.

The Semites brought with them into Babylonia the first elements of civilisation and the art of writing: this was still in the pictorial state. We have no documents of this period, however, unless, as there is reason to believe, some of the omen tablets are later transcriptions of observations of this period.²

The Akkadians³ before the invasion of Babylonia lived in Media, but they appear to have been much more gifted intellectually than the other tribes of the same land and race. They invaded Babylonia either by small bands or in mass, under the leadership of a great warrior, but the former is more likely. The Semites, ill organised for resistance, defended themselves in vain. Sargon, or Sargina,⁴ was the last champion of the Semitic independence,⁵ and a legend after his death was developed which promised the coming back of the old king, who was to re-establish the Semitic kingdom. It is the Messianic king that Sargon of Agade claimed to be.

After a long dynasty Babylonia saw a new invasion, that of the Kassites (6255), a population coming like the Akkadians from Media, but much inferior to them intellectually. They ruled for a long period, and were expelled by a Sumerian

¹ This passage is probably an interpolation, but it has preserved no doubt an old tradition.

² For this question see my paper 'Origin and Development of the Cuneiform Syllabary' in *Journal of the R.A.S.* vol. xix. Part IV.

³ The name *Akkad* is a Semitic translation of *Uru*, 'the strong ones,' by which these people called themselves.

⁴ This king has been for a long time confounded with Sargon of Agade; Mr. Pinches first separated them.

⁵ The Akkadians followed a religion in which the propitiation of evil spirits played the principal part, and used to bury the dead. They introduced their customs into Babylonia, but they were modified; however, there must have been a time of struggle. At this period I should therefore place the emigration of Abraham, who would not accept the innovations. This patriarch seems to have had a real existence, but later on he was made to represent a tribe, and his life was extended over centuries. The Abraham who went to Egypt can be neither the same as the one who emigrated from Uru, nor the same as the one who fought Kudur-Lagamar.

king (5655), whom I believe to be the famous hero Gilgamesh.¹ In the poem relative to this early king we are told that he freed Babylonia from the foreign tyrant Umbaba, and that he extended his empire all over Western Asia: his capital was Erech and his language Sumerian.² Gilgamesh was a real king and ruled effectively, but in the course of time he was transformed by poets into a solar hero, and his deeds arranged accordingly, though we can still detect the main lines of his prosperous reign.³

After the first Sumerian dynasty the Akkadians took the power again, but the Sumerians took it a second time, to leave it finally to the Akkadians. The third Akkadian dynasty was destroyed by the Kassites, and their dynasty closes the heroic period.⁴

The Akkadians inhabited the northern, and the Sumerians the southern parts of Babylonia, and the changes of dynasties appear to indicate the fluctuation of the power between the tribes. No echoes have come down to us of the wars which must have taken place to bring about these changes. But after the second Kassite conquest Akkadians and Sumerians disappear for ever from the scene. This seems to prove that they always were in a minority, and formed a kind of aristocracy; they had adopted the Semitic civilisation, and given to it a peculiar character. When they disappeared they bequeathed this peculiar civilisation to the Semites.

With the Semitic renaissance (4020) begin the real historical times, for which we have contemporaneous documents

¹ Formerly called Giodubar and wrongly identified with Nimrod. Mr. Pinches has found lately the real reading of the name, and Professor Sayce noticed that this name is given by Ælian under the form of Gilgames.

² The Sumerians were the southern branch of the Akkadians, and spoke a dialect of the same language. The name *Sumer* is still applied by the Arabs to the south-west part of Babylonia.

³ It is during this dynasty that I should be inclined to place a conquest of Egypt by a Sumerian king; this is no doubt the origin of the tradition which makes Semiramis rule on the Nile.

⁴ I call this period heroic because it is the period during which appeared all the Babylonian heroes and were written all the heroic poems.

and remains. It has been a subject of great surprise that all the excavations never reveal anything from the earlier period, though the skill of the artists shows that a long period must have elapsed before.¹ The explanation appears simple to me. Originally Babylonia was covered with thick forests; the first inhabitants took from these forests materials to build their houses and temples, and from the marshes papyrus to manufacture their writing material. With the progress of civilisation and the increase of the population the forests and papyrus disappeared.² Then the wood was replaced by bricks, and the papyrus by clay. This change took place, no doubt, at the time of the Semitic renaissance, and Time, which has destroyed the wooden monuments and the papyrus documents, has spared bricks and clay. Fortunately the scribes of this age have written copies of the old poems of the heroic period. The time of poems was over, and the scribes were satisfied with commentaries and translations, and it is only by these later transcriptions that we know the early Akkadian and Semitic literature.

Only a small number of the host of kings who fill this period are known to us: the most brilliant of them is Sargon of Agade,³ the Messianic king. A great warrior, he extended his conquests from the Persian Gulf to Armenia, and from the mountains of Media to the Mediterranean Sea.⁴ A great builder, he founded many cities and many temples, one of them in Babylon itself; in this town was also a palace constructed by him. Lover of the Fine Arts, he gathered a large library and encouraged artists and scribes; it is from his copies of the old tablets, which were copied for Assurbanipal, that most of the copies which we have, have come down to us. Though he ruled

¹ The oldest seal we possess—that of the scribe or librarian of Sargon of Agade—is perhaps the best of all those which have come down to us. Those of later kings show a decay in the art.

² As is known, the papyrus plant has disappeared also from Egypt. It is still found in Sicily and in Central Africa.

³ The annals of his reign and that of his son have been preserved in omen tablets. They are translated by Professor Sayce (*Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. pp. 37–41).

⁴ Some read also Cyprus.

forty-five years, his empire was too vast to last.¹ He was succeeded by his son Naram-Sin, but with him seems to disappear the supremacy of Agade.

As we have no list of the kings of this dynasty, we cannot reconstruct it; many names of kings are known, but for the greater number it is doubtful if they ever ruled over Babylon. We may except the kings of Ur, Ur-Bau and his son Dungi, who came some time after the kings of Agade.

Previous to the rise of Ur to power the pre-eminent city appears to have been Nipur, but nothing is known of its king. It may only be noticed that this city is that of Bel, the national god of the Semites. After the predominance of Ur, Lagash seems to have flourished, but its Patesis, the best known of whom is Gudea, were more artistic than military and made no conquests. Towards the end of the period Karrak rose to power, but an Elamite conquest came to disturb Mesopotamia. Kudur-Mabuk, the Elamite king, made the conquest of all the southern region, but Babylon was spared, and he founded a dynasty at Erech.

Many more names might be recovered if explorations in Babylonia were carried on more systematically.²

It may be noticed here that Berosus gives only 86 kings to the dynasty, and possibly my estimate of 110 kings is a little exaggerated, and not justified enough by the probable number of lines missing. The date which I have adopted is nevertheless probable, for we have the date certain—3800 for the first year of Sargon of Agade. At the time of this king the Kassite rule seems to have been forgotten; it is not therefore much to suppose that 220 years had elapsed. On the other hand, if I applied my system of average to the 86 kings

¹ The end of his reign was filled with a series of revolts; the king was even besieged in his capital. Naram-Sin struggled probably in vain all his reign to maintain the conquests of his father.

² The relative positions of the kings and empires have been calculated from the position of the bricks in the monuments, as the kings gloried in repairing the structures of their predecessors. The style of the writing has also been used, but all these data are very unsatisfactory, and we cannot know the real position of the kings of this period until we find the missing portion of the Royal Canon.

it would give 1290, and place the beginning of the dynasty about 3561, which is too low a date, as it is below that of Sargon.

This long Semitic period of sixteen centuries and a half was perhaps also on the tablet divided into several dynasties, and the place occupied by the summations would reduce the number of lines occupied by the names of kings; but if there were only 86 kings they must have ruled more than 15 years on the average, and this would be due to the fact that, as the predominance passed constantly from one town to another, the vitality and energy of the ruling family were maintained and the reigns were longer.

The rise of Babylon to power (2371) marks a real epoch in Babylonian history. Before then the want of homogeneity was rendered greater by the constant change of capital. When Babylon assumed the lead it preserved it to the last. The Babylonian empire offers also a greater power of resistance: this is well illustrated by the Elamite and Kassite invasions. The invading kings, having once taken Babylon, seem to have exhausted their force, and no more spread over the whole of Western Asia, as they used to do. Kudur-Nanhundi took and pillaged Babylon in 2280; but this event, far from weakening the Babylonian dynasty, seems to have given it new energy, and Hammurabi, who came to the throne in 2259, raised Babylon, during his reign of 45 years, to the first rank. All the kings of this dynasty had long reigns and left the crown to their sons.¹

Of the second dynasty of Sisku (2077 to 1709) we only know the names of the kings. They must have had peaceful reigns, for, eleven in number, they ruled on the average over 31 years each. We have no documents, not even private tablets, of this period; the only fact to note is that during the time of this dynasty ruled the early Patesis of Assur, Ismi-Dagan,

¹ Of this dynasty we possess numerous private contract tablets, which indicate a great development of commerce. It is rather curious that the contract tablets seem to cease with this dynasty. We have a long period extending till the second Ninevite empire, of which we have no contract tablets. No doubt the centre of commerce had shifted and the locality has not been yet found.

and Samsi-Rammanu in the town of this name, for Nineveh was not yet built. The latter king constructed a temple to Anu and Rammanu in 2021, that is, under the reign of Ki-anni-bi, the second king of the dynasty of Sisku.

The last two kings, Melamma-Kurkura and Ea-gamil, ruled only six and nine years respectively, which indicates a state of disturbance, and, in fact, an invasion of Kassites put an end to the dynasty. A Kassite dynasty established itself at Babylon, but without changing anything in the laws of the land. The third king is called in the chronological tablet $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$, *A-gu-â-ši*, which I suspect to be the ideographic writing¹ of $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$, *A-gu-ka-âk-ri-me*, for this celebrated king must have ruled, and there is besides no room in any other part of the chronology. Agu-kak-rime calls himself king of Kassi, king of Babylon, coloniser of Ashnunak, king of Padan, Alman and Gutî, which shows that he was a great warrior. His inscription is written in Semitic Babylonian.²

The Assyrian power had rapidly increased. Bel-kapkapu (about 1850) changed the title of Patesi for that of king, which was borne henceforth by the Assyrian rulers. About 1620 the two empires of Assyria and Babylonia came into contact and made a treaty, but this pacific intercourse soon became hostile. From the time of the Assyrian king Assuruballit and the Babylonian king Burnaburias the two nations were constantly at war. At this period, however, the Egyptian conquest in Asia occupied the attention of the Assyrians and left the Babylonians at peace for a while; but soon the Ninevite kings asserted their power again, and several times occupied Babylon. One of the most glorious kings of the period is Tiglath-pileser I. (1320-1300), but his brilliant reign terminated in disaster, and he saw the Babylonian army, led by Marduk-nadin-ahe, plunder

¹ As the tablet has chronology as its object, ideograms are often used for the sake of shortness. The same thing happens in the trade documents, which are even at late date more ideographic than the early historical inscriptions.

² The copy we possess has been made by the Assyrians. It has been translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vii. (first series).

his own capital. The Assyrian empire fell into decay for a while, and from about 1200 Babylonia is left to herself. The short reigns of the kings appear, however, to indicate trouble; after the Kassite came the Pasa dynasty, in which some kings only reign a few months. The same may be said of the Tamtim and Basi dynasties.¹

In 1018 the Elamites occupied Babylon and gave a king, who ruled six years. After this the Babylonians appear to have shown greater energy; one of their kings, Sibir, towards 930 or 940, carried successfully his arms against the Assyrians: this is the last success. Soon comes the brilliant reign of the Ninevite Assur-nasir-pal, who during 25 years placed the Assyrian power above all others. From this time Babylon is in the hands of the Ninevites, and revolt after revolt only makes the yoke on her neck heavier.

It is difficult to understand why the author of the chronological tablet begins a new dynasty with Ukinzir (732). Berosus did not, and made one dynasty of the last two of the tablet.

It may be noticed that there is a change of policy from this time in the conduct of the Ninevite kings towards Babylon. The kings take a more direct interest in the city, and take up their residence there. If this policy had been maintained by Assur-bani-pal, it would probably have saved the Assyrian empire, for it would have been absorbed by Babylon, as was at a later date the Persian empire, and Babylonia,² maintained as the metropolis, would have forgotten that her rulers had a foreign origin.

The writer of the tablet, as well as Berosus, does not seem to take into account the fall of Nineveh (607); the disappearance of the Assyrian empire had, however, a great influence on the history of Babylonia, for the Assyrian power was such

¹ The longer notice in the Royal Canon would incline one to believe that the writer had a national prejudice in favour of these kings. Mr. Pinches understood it so, but it is only a supposition, as we have no documents of the period.

² This is the cause of all the revolts of Babylon: this city would not accept the position of a provincial town. It probably tired the patience of the Ninevite kings.

that all the nations around never attained any degree of prosperity except when Assyria was for one cause or another reduced to impotence. After the fall of Nineveh the Babylonian empire appeared to be the greatest on earth, but this is only apparent, for Nineveh had cleared the field : Elam had been totally destroyed, the Hittites and other Syrian populations crushed, Egypt made powerless. But the days of the Babylonian empire were counted, new tribes and new races were pressing around, ready to rush on to the hollow colossus, waiting only for a bold leader. This leader was Cyrus. The empire was in truth so weak that when the Persians came before Babylon the town was captured without fighting.

The Persian kings came to dwell in Babylon, and partly lost their own language ; nothing was changed, the empire was too vast to have any unity. Darius, who had practically to make the conquest of his empire, tried to prevent the return of such revolts, but simply destroyed in the people all feelings of patriotism. After two centuries of Persian rule the empire passed into the hands of Alexander. If this conqueror had lived he would have been Babylonised like the Persians ; though transformed by the introduction of the Greek mind, Babylon would have gone on as in the past. But after a few years of anarchy the great city came under the rule of Seleucus, and was by the Greek rulers sacrificed to political exigency, and its inhabitants transported wholesale to people the new city, Seleucia.¹

Babylon died a slow death ; its temples were, little by little, deserted, and fell into ruin. The ceremonies, however, went on before a more and more reduced congregation, and the cuneiform writing was still studied and used,² and it appears to have been superseded only by the introduction of Syriac by the Christians.

The tablets of this last period are very interesting, because they show us the Babylonians adopting the science of

¹ The fact has been doubted, but I have found a tablet mentioning this event.

² We have tablets down to the Christian era, and perhaps later.

the Greeks ; for instance, from the time of the Greek conquest real astronomical documents become numerous ; before this epoch there was no astronomy.¹ It is to be noticed that though Greek proper names are found, and that the Babylonians must have learnt Greek, we do not find any Greek words in the inscriptions.

¹ Drs. Epping and Strassmaier have published a book under the title of *Astronomisches aus Babylon* ; but this title is rather a misnomer, as the book treats only of the Seleucidian period. See on this subject my lectures at the British Museum reported in *Nature*, July 4, 11, 18, and August 8, 1889.

NOTE.—This paper has been passed through the press by the Misses Bertin, the late M. Bertin's sisters, who were in the habit of assisting him in his literary works.

THE BABYLONIAN ROYAL CANON.

MYTHICAL AND PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

Antediluvian dynasty.

(10 kings for 120 sari.)

1	𒂗 𒌷𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪	sari.	
	Adi - Ur	10	Oannes, prophet.
2	.....	
	Ilu-išpar	3	
3	.....	
	Amil-Ur of Ur	13	
4	.....	
	Ammenon of Chaldæa	12	Annedotus, prophet.
5	.....	
	Amegalarus of Ur	18	
6	.....	
	Dānu (or Dumuzi) of Ur	10	Four prophets: Euedokus, Eneubulus, Eneugannus, and Anementus.
7	.....	
	Euedorakhus (Amarduk) of Ur	18	Odakon, prophet.
8	.....	
	Amempsimus of Larsa	10	
9	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪		
	Ardu-Tutu of Suripkhu	8	
10	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪		
	Um-napištim, h.s.	18	

SEMITIC (PRE-AKKADIAN) DYNASTY.

(number of kings and length of their reigns unknown.)¹

I

Belus

B.C.
7500 (?)

.

.

→† ◀☪

Marduk

NOTE.—Short form of Amaruduk or Namaruduk, probably the same as Nimrod.

FIRST AKKADIAN DYNASTY.

(50 kings for 745 years.)



(38 names lost.)

39  →†  ◀☪


. -Ur

B.C.
7000 (?)40  →†  ◀☪

. -Ur

41  →†  ☪


Ur - Damu

42 →† ☪ 

Babar - uru

43   →† ◀☪

Ur- la

44  →† ☪

Ur - Babar

¹ If we accept the number of 4 neri, given by Berosus for the length of the reign of Evekhous, as representing the duration of the prehistoric period, it would place the first king at B.C. 8655 and an average of 160 kings. As the first Akkadian dynasty contained 50 kings, it leaves 110 kings for 1650 years for the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty.

- 45 Iskipal
- 46 Gulkišar
- 47 Aadarakalama
- 48 Akur - du - anna
- 49 Šargina
- 50 Azaga - Bau, a queen

B.C.
7000 (?)

NOTE.—The chronological order of these rulers is uncertain.





HEROIC PERIOD.

FIRST KASSITE DYNASTY.







(40 kings for 600 years.)






- 1 Hammu - rabi
- 2 Ammi - sadugga
- 3 Dur - galzu
- 4 Simmaš - Šiḫu
- 5 Ulam - Buriāš
- 6 Nazi - Murudaš

6255

7   -  
Meli - Šihu

6255

8      
Burna - Buriāš





9     
Kara - Enlil¹

(31 names lost.)

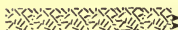


FIRST SUMERIAN DYNASTY.

(35 kings for 525 years.)







(Two names lost, but here probably)






   
Gilgamesh








5655







.....
3   
..... ġi - gal

4    
..... ġi - gal







5      
Lu - Šilik - lušar

6     
Un - kur - Šilik - alim

7       
Ka - šer - mal - Tutu

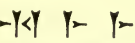
8      
Šazu - Kusmu

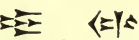
9        
Šazu - abtila - nengu

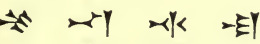
10      
Ur - Nintinbagga


¹ Instead of *Enlil* it may be *Murube*, which is the name of Bel in Kassite.

5655


11 
Hu - meme

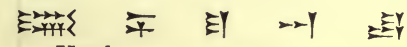
12 
Dili - Ġidu

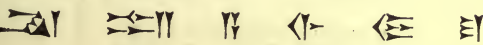
13 
Munatila

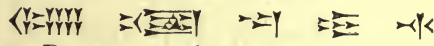
14 
Uru - šatu

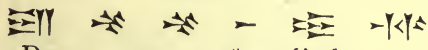
15 
Uru - âgal - duabi

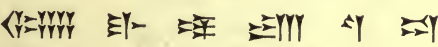
16 
Labar - Nu - dimmut

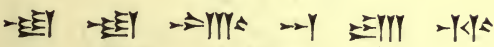
17 
Urudu - manše

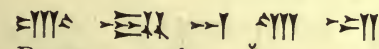
18 
Kud - ur - Alima


19 
Dun - agaba - ġiti


20 
Damu - mu - aš - ġigal

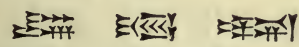
21 
Dun - gal - turta - ê

22 
Tutu - bulantagal

23 
Dugga - maġ - Šazu

24 
Ġidu - lammara.

25 
Mul - ġisal

26 
Lugal - uru - ibila

12 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Gu - un - zu'

5130

13 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Nap - saġgenna

14 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Maššugal - Babar - gude

15 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Ur - Šanabi

16 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Lu - Damu

17 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Duldul - Izzir

18 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Ninsag - gunupalpal

19 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Aku - sag - algi

20 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Aku - batila

SECOND SUMERIAN DYNASTY.

(9 kings for 135 years.)

1 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Larru - nindub - al


4830

2 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Lubar - Egir - azaga

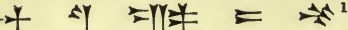
3 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Bad - Mullilla


4 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
Ur - gula


5 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
.. nularag - salaga - šumu - aldibba

6 
Eš - guzi - gar - sag - men

4830

7 
Babar - sagtab - mu

8 
Gar - kar - zi


9 
..... du

THIRD AKKADIAN DYNASTY.

(30 kings for 450 years.)

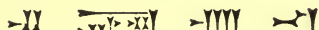
.....

.....



..... ni



Kas - kur, h.s.



En - gen - nunna


Abil - Kiš, h.s.


.....

.....

4695

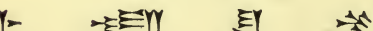
SECOND KASSITE DYNASTY.

(15 kings for 225 years.)

1 
Ulam - Murube

4245

2 
Meli - Hali

3 
Meli - Šumu

¹ These two names are restored from the Babylonian translation.

² This name is generally read *Illat*. Prof. Sayce reads it *Illadu*, but adds that it seems to have been *Pallil* in Akkadian.

4	𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Meli - Šibarru	4245
5	𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Meli - Šaḥ	
6	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Numgirabi	
7	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Numgirabi - Šaḥ	
8	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Numgirabi - Buriaš	
9	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Kara - Buriaš	
10	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Kara - Šaḥ	
11	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Nazi - Šiḥu	
12	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Nazi - Buriaš	
		(three names lost.)	

HISTORICAL PERIOD, NATIVE DYNASTIES.

SEMITIC DYNASTY.

(110 kings for 1649 years.)

.....			4020
.....			
𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦			
Šargina, king of Agade	45		3800
𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦			
Naram - Sin, h.s.			3755

.....

Ur - Bau¹ King of Ur

Dungi h.s.

.....

.....


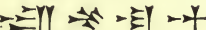

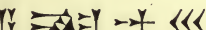
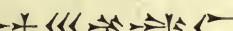


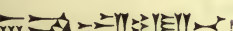

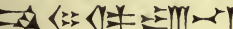
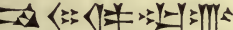

REMARK.—We have about thirty or forty other names of rulers of this period, they are inscribed on seals, cones, votive tablets, private contracts, etc. These rulers are said to have had power over Ur, Uruk, Nipur, Apirak, Lagash, Karrah, Larsa, etc., but do not appear to have extended it over Babylon, and for this reason are left out here.

With this dynasty finishes the uncertainty of the periods occupied by each dynasty, and I take this opportunity to remind the reader that my reconstruction of the Babylonian royal canon has no pretence to exact accuracy; some of the dynasties may have been longer or shorter, some of the kings belonging to one may have belonged to another; for, as stated before, in arranging the names under different dynasties, I have often tried to obtain round numbers. But all this does not affect the general result; and we have this fact, that the tablet B, the royal canon, contained before the first dynasty of Babylon, three columns and a third covered with names, that is the base of my scheme; and even if I am wrong in the arrangement of the names, I must be right as to the number of kings and the approximate dates.

¹ This reading is still uncertain, it might be Ur-Gur; but the name is found written Ur-Babi and Ur-Bau, though we may have here three, or at least two, different kings.

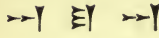


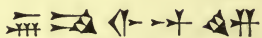
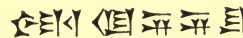
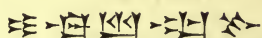

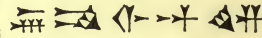
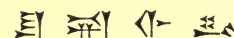

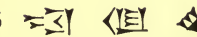
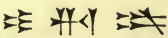
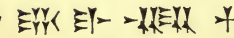
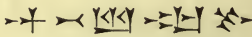

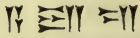
DYNASTY OF BABYLON.

(11 kings for 294 years.)

1		15	2371	
	Sumuabi			
2		35	2356	
	Sumula - ili			
3		14	2321	
	Zabū, h.s.			
4		18	2307	
	Apil - Sin h.s.			
5		30	2289	
	Sin - Muballit, h.s.		2280	
				
				Kudur-Nanḫundi takes Babylon, and retires after plundering the temples.
6		45	2259	
	Hammurabi, h.s.			
7		35	2214	
	Samsu - iluna			
8		25	2179	
	Ebišum, h.s.			
9		25	2154	
	Ammi - satana, h.s.			
10		21	2129	
	Ammi - sa - duga, h.s.			
11		31	2108	
	Samsu - satana			

DYNASTY OF SISKU.

(11 kings for 368 years.)

1		Anma - ili	51	2077	 Isme-dagan, patesi of Assur.
2		Kiannibi	55	2026 2021	 Samši-Rammanu, h.s., patesi of Assur.
3		Damki - ili - šu	46	1971	 Igur-kapkapu, patesi of Assur.
4		Iškipal	15	1925	 Samši-Rammanu II, h.s., patesi of Assur.
5		Šušši - aḫe	27	1910	 Ḫallu, patesi of Assur.
6		Gul - kišar	55	1883	 Irišum, h.s., patesi of Assur.
7		Kir-gal-dara-maš, h.s.	50	1828	 Bel-kapkapu, 1st king of Assur.
8		A-adara-kalama, h.s.	28	1778	 Adasi, king of Assur.

𒌦𒍪 𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Murubi - šiḫu	(16)	1611		
		1610	(20)	𒈹 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Ninip-tugultu-Aššuri, h.s., king of Assur.
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Kara - indaš	(15)	1595		
		1590	(20)	𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Aššur-bel-nisi-šu, king of Assur.
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Duri - galzu I	(20)	1580		
		1570	(20)	𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Buzur - Aššur
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Burna - buriaš (700 years after Ḫammurabi)		1560		
		1550	(20)	𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Aššur-ubaliṭ, king of Assur.
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Šagasalti-buriaš, h.s. (800 years before Nabu-na'id)		1355		
		1340	(20)	𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Aššur-riš-iši, h.s., king of Assur.
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Nabu-kudur-ušur I		1320	(20)	𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Tugulti-pil-ešar, h.s., king of Assur.
𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 Marduk-nadin-aḫe	(10)	1315 1310		Nineveh taken, and the seal of Tugulti-Ninip and the images of Sala and other divinities carried to Babylon 618 years before Sennacherib (692).

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠	(8)	1305	
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Marduk-šapik-kullat			
22 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠	22	1300 (5)	𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Aššur-bel-kala, h.s., king of Assur.
Rammanu-abla-iddin (son of Esagil-šaduni.)			
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠			𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Samši-Rammanu, h.s., king of Assur.
Kara - murudaš			
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠			𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Bel-nirari, king of Assur.
Nazi - bugaš		1530 25	
Duri - galzu II (son of Burna-burias)		1510	
Meli - šiḫu		1505 (15)	.....
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠			𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Budi - ili, king of Assur.
Marduk-abla - idina I		1490 20	
Nazi - murubi		1470 (20)	𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Rammanu-nirari, king of Assur.
		1450 (20)	𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 Salmanasar I, h.s., king of Assur.

			𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	1430 (20)	Tugulti - Ninip I, king of Assur.
			𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	1410 (10)	Bel-kudur-ušur, king of Assur. (killed by the following.)
𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶					
Rammanu					
𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶				1400 (20)	Ninip - pil - esir
Zagaga - šum - idin					
(probably also at B.)				1380 (20)	Aššur-dān, king of Assur.
𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶					
Kudur - Bel					
23				1360 20)	Mutakkil-Nusku, h.s., king of Assur.
	26	1275			
			𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶		Aššur-rab-amar, king of Assur.
24					
	17	1249			
25 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶				2	1232
Kara					
26 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶					Aššur-nimati, king of Assur.
Giš - amme - ti	6	1230			

27	𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	Šaga - saltiaš	13	1224
28	𐎶 𐎶	Bibat, h.s.	8	1211
29	𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	Bel - nadin - šumi	y. m. 1 6	1203
30	𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	Kara - Muruš	y. m. 1 6	1202
31	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	Rammanu-nadin-šumi	6	1200
32	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	Rammanu-šum-našir	30	1194
33	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	Meli - Šihu	15	1164
34	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	Marduk-abla-iddin, h.s.	13	1149
35	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	Zagaga - nadin - šumi	1	1136
36	𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	Bel - nadin	3	1135

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶
Aššur - našir - pal I, king of
Assur.

DYNASTY OF PAŠE.

(11 kings for 72 years 6 months.)

1	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	Marduk	17	1132
(Mardokentes of Berosus's list.)				
2	.....		6	1115
3-7	Six unknown kings		4	1109

8	(Mušeši-Marduk)	22	1105		
9	𐎠𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	y. m.			
	Marduk-nadin . . .	1 6	1083		
10	𐎠𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	13	1082		
	Marduk-zir . . .				
11	𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶				
	Nabu - nadin . . .	9	1069		

DYNASTY OF TAMTIM.

(3 kings for 21 years 3 months.)

1	𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	18	1060		
	Simmaš - Šihu				
2	𐎠𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	5 m.	1042		
	Ea - mukin - ziri				
3	𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶	3	1041		
	Kaššū - nadin - aḫe				

DYNASTY OF BASI.

(3 kings for 20 years 3 months.)

1	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	17	1038		
	E-Ulbar-šakin-šumi				
2	𐎠𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	3	1021		
	Ninip-kudur(-uṣur)				
3	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶	3 m.	1018		
	Šilanim-šukāmuna				

DYNASTY OF ELAM.

(1 king for 6 years.)

1	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	6	1018		
				

FIRST ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

(17 kings for 280 years.)

1	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Irba - Marduk ¹	13	1012		
2	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪	m.. d.			
	Marduk-abla-iddina II, ¹	6 12	999		
	h.s.				
				
					𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪
					Tugulti-pil-ešar II, king of Assur.
	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Sibir				
					𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪
			928 (17)		Aššur - dān, king of Assur.
	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Nabu-šum-damīk				
					𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪
			911 (22)		Rammanu-nirari II, h.s., king of Assur.
	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Nabu - šum - iškun				
					𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪
			889 6		Tugulti-Ninip II, h.s.
	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Rimmon-nadin-aḫe				
					𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪
			883 25		Aššur-našir-apli, h.s., king of Assur.
	𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪 𒂗𒍪				
	Nabu-abla-iddina				

¹ The position of these two kings is not certain.

					𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎥 𐎵 𐎶	858	35	Šalmanu-ašar II, h.s., king of Assur.
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Marduk-šum-iškun							
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Marduk-bel-							
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	usate							
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Bau-ahe-iddin							
					𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶			Aššur-dain-apli, h.s., rebel king of Assur.
					𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	823	13	Samši-Rammanu, h.b., king of Assur.
𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Marduk-							
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	balatsu-iḫbi, h.s.							
					𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	810	29	Rammanu-nirari III, h.s., king of Assur.
					𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎥 𐎵 𐎶	781	10	Salmanu-ašar, king of Assur.
					𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	771	18	Aššur-dān III, king of Assur.
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Nabu - šum - iškun	6	754		𐎶 𐎶 𐎶			Aššur - nirari
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	Nabu - našir	14	748		𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶			Tukulti - pal - esar III, h.s., king of Assur.
			745	18				

→ → → →			
Nabu-nadin-ziri, h.s.	2	734	
→| →| →| →|	m. d.		
Nabu-šum-ukin, h.s.	1 12	732	

SECOND ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

(22 kings for 194 years.)

1 →| →| →|				
Ukin-ziri	3	732		
2 →| →| →|				
Pulu	2	729		
3 →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Ululā	5	727	5	→| →| →| →| →| →|
				Šalmanu-ašar, king of Assur.
4 →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Marduk-abla-iddin	12	722	17	→| →| →| →| →| →|
				Šarru-ukin, king of Assur.
5 →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Šarru - ukin	5	710		
6 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Sin-aše-eriba, h.s.	2	705	24	Same king of Assur.
7 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Marduk-zakir-šumi	1 m.	703		
8 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Marduk-abla-iddin	6 m.			
9 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Bel - ibni	3	702		
10 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Aššur - nadin - šumi	6	699		
11 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Nergal-ušešib	1	693		
12 →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →| →|				
Mušešib-Marduk	4	692		

HISTORICAL PERIOD, FOREIGN DYNASTIES.

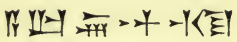
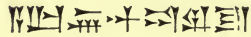
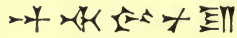
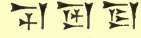
PERSIAN DYNASTY.

(13 kings for 207 years.)

1	𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Kuraš	9	538
2	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	y. m.	
	Kambuzia, h.s.	7 5	529
3	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Barzia (the Magian)	7 m.	522
4	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Dariamuš (Darius)	36	521
5	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Aḫšiaršu	21	485
6	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Artakšatsu	40	464
7	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Aḫšiaršu II	2 m.	424
8	.....	
	Sogdianu	7 m.	
9	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Dariamuš II	19	
10	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Artakšatsu II	46	405
			400
11	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵		
	Artakšatsu	21	359
12	.....	
	Arses	2	338
13	𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	y. m.	
	Dariamuš III	4 10	336

Retreat of the ten thousand.

MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

1		7	33 ¹
	Alikсандар, son of Филиппус		
2		6	32 ⁴
	Alikсандурусу, son of Александр		
3		6	31 ⁸
	Антигунусу		
4			31 ²
	Силуку (Selucidian era)		

THE SEQUENCE OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN PLATO'S 'REPUBLIC' COMPARED WITH THE ACTUAL HISTORY OF GREEK CITIES.

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I NEED scarcely remind the Society, for the most part, of the subject of the Republic of Plato, the longest and in some respects the most important of his dialogues. But as it is as well not to take too much for granted, I will briefly describe its purport. Nearly all points of the Platonic philosophy are treated or glanced at in the Republic, but the ostensible subject is an inquiry into the nature and meaning of Justice.

The question 'What is justice?' is proposed, and Socrates, the nominal speaker, declares that Justice is to be more easily discovered in a city than in an individual citizen, and proceeds therefore to construct an ideally perfect state. It would be interesting to compare the state so constructed with actually existing Greek constitutions, and to show, what I think is the case, that it contains the common features of Greek political life exaggerated and elaborated, but still nothing which is not to be found to some extent really existing, especially in Dorian cities. I wish now, however, to turn to the decay of this ideal constitution, as ideally portrayed by Plato, believing that consciously or unconsciously he was therein drawing upon his knowledge of real political history, and making an outline which is generally true of the progress and decline of Greek and Italian city communities. 'Nothing,' he says (Rep. viii. 546), 'which has been born but must one day perish; even a system like ours will not endure for all time, but must suffer dissolution.' The ideal state which is described as an

ἀριστοκρατία, not an aristocracy in the ordinary conventional sense, but truly *a rule of the best*, will degenerate first into a *τιμοκρατία*, a state in which the governing class will be distinguished by a spirit of honour and emulation, be fond of war, ambitious and contentious, secretly also fond of money, spending with a lavish hand in their private houses, upon their wives or any other object that pleases them. Plato makes still more clear what he has in his mind by saying that a state of this description is like Crete and Sparta, 'the constitutions which most men praise.' We have here in fact what is commonly meant by the name aristocracy, but which Plato calls timocracy, because he has reserved the title aristocracy for that which he thinks truly best.

From this the state will degenerate still further, and become an *ὀλιγαρχία*, by which he means not literally the government by a few, but 'a constitution founded upon a property qualification, in which the wealthy rule while the poor have no part in the government.' The next stage is democracy, *δημοκρατία*, 'when the poor win the day, killing some of the rich, expelling others, and admitting some of the remainder to an equal participation in civil rights and offices.'

The licence of this state will bring about a further change, and the series will end with the worst condition of all, a despotism, *τυραννίς*, the arbitrary rule of a so-called popular champion.

The political decadence thus sketched is accompanied by a parallel view of the decadence of individual character, from the aristocratic man of a perfectly balanced disposition, down to the despotic man who is a slave to the worst passions. Even Plato, however, could hardly be serious in suggesting that the ethical decadence of individual character from generation to generation proceeds always by a fixed law, that the son of the perfect man is always or even generally ambitious, that the son of the ambitious man is always money-loving, and so on. Here he certainly seems to be thinking more of the political than of the ethical side of the double argument

that runs through the Republic, and is drawing upon his own experience of the history of the Greek cities with which he was most intimately acquainted by his travels or residence. It does not of course follow that what Plato drew from his knowledge of a small circle of specially constituted and peculiar Greek cities is universally true of all states at all times. The best educated Athenians, Plato included, seldom knew any language but their own, and before the time of the Macedonian conquests were usually profoundly ignorant of the affairs of other nations, except from hearsay. Plato, of course, could not look forward into a time like the present, a time when the very meaning of the word state (*πόλις*) is altered, for Plato and Aristotle would hardly have admitted that modern states were states at all, but would have described them by the name *ἔθνος*, signifying something too large to be politically organised at all, according to their notions. *τετάρτη τις ἡμῖν πόλις, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε ἔθνος*.¹ Such names as aristocracy and democracy now convey the idea of governments entirely different from those which they described to a Greek. The size of modern states, the comprehension of a whole nation within one political constitution, representative government and Christian civilisation, the fact of the Roman empire behind us, the possibility of such a wide expansion of population around us, the extremely varied conditions of modern societies, all tend to prevent the application to the revolutions of a later time of the same law which governed the changes of the Greek cities. But with regard to the political world of which he was thoroughly cognisant, I believe that Plato spoke mainly what was true, and that a sort of universal framework may be formed for the history of Greek and of Italian cities. Italian cities may probably be added, including Rome, through whom this series of changes becomes a chapter in the unbroken story of the world.

Plato is not alone among ancient writers in finding such a law of change. It is true that Aristotle in the Politics finds fault with Plato (Pol. v. 12). Aristotle wishes to know

¹ Plat. *Legg.* iii. 676, κ.τ.λ.

whether the series is to end in *τυραννίς*, or whether that gives way again to the best form, so that the cycle may start anew. He rightly says that oligarchy and democracy are not simple terms, but are used for various kinds of government, and he gives several instances in which the change from oligarchy to democracy is through a tyranny. That this last phase often occurred is certainly true; but I am disposed to think that Plato, wishing to conduct his state regularly through its various forms to the lowest degradation, treated this earlier appearance of tyranny merely as an episode in the establishment of democracy and so passed it over; tyranny being, as Aristotle himself says, 'an unsettled or indeterminate sort of government' (*ἀόριστον γάρ*). That the end of all was despotism, is a too certainly true fact in the history of the ancient world.

But Aristotle himself, in spite of these objections, cannot get rid of the notion of regular change in states, and to some extent bears out Plato. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* (viii. 10), he tells us that there are three kinds of *πολιτεία* or 'balanced constitution,' the kingly, *βασιλεία*, the aristocratic, *ἀριστοκρατία*, and the timocratic, *τιμοκρατική*, and that these three usually degenerate into *τυραννίς*, *ὀλιγαρχία*, *δημοκρατία* respectively. *σύννοροι γὰρ αὐται*, 'for these are near to each other.'

Now, not only does Aristotle here allow that there are regular stages of degeneration to be looked for, but his stages, taken in the order in which he mentions them, correspond with the Platonic stages, *βασιλεία* and *τυραννίς* being added at the beginning. This is obscured by the use of *τιμοκρατική*, *πολιτεία*, and *ὀλιγαρχία* by Aristotle in nearly reciprocally opposite senses in each case from the use of the names by Plato. With Plato, the former means a state in which a love of honour prevails; in Aristotle it means a state in which office is made dependent upon property (*τίμημα*). With Plato, *ὀλιγαρχία* means a state in which office is confined to the wealthy, and in Aristotle it means much more nearly what we understand by an oligarchy, a rule of those who,

being few, govern in their own interest, contrary to right, making much of wealth—a state nearly corresponding, in fact, to the Lacedæmonian, which Plato describes as a *τιμοκρατία* in his sense. I must refer those who wish to judge this more minutely to the passage in the Ethics. My present point is that in spite of his objection in the Politics, there is a passage in Aristotle in which he allows a regular sequence of changes in constitutions, and that though he only mentions three changes from one to the other in the three pairs of constitutions which he names, yet he names all six in an order corresponding to Plato's order with an addition at the beginning. Thus :

Plato ;	ἀριστοκρατία	to	}
	τιμοκρατία	— to	
	ὀλιγαρχία	— to	
			}
	δημοκρατία	— to	
	τυραννίς	—	
Aristotle ;	βασιλεία	— to	}
	τυραννίς		
	ἀριστοκρατία	to	}
	ὀλιγαρχία	(corresponding to τιμοκρατία of Plato)	
	τιμοκρατική	(corresponding to ὀλιγαρχία of Plato) to	
			}
	δημοκρατία		

It is noteworthy that in the Laws, as we shall presently see, Plato begins with a *βασιλεία*, followed by an *ἀριστοκρατία*. But there is also a Greek historian with superior opportunities of observation to either Plato or Aristotle, who is persuaded that a regular sequence of revolutions is to be observed.

Polybius lived at the close of the freedom of Greece. The republican history was practically complete behind him, and he was also conversant with the history of Rome and of other Italian cities, of which Aristotle perhaps knew the name and of which Plato had probably never heard.

‘It is easy,’ Polybius says (vi. 3 κ.τ.λ.), ‘to tell the past history of Greek cities, and to foretell their future.’ It is not so easy, he says, in the case of Rome, owing to her mixed constitution. Nevertheless—and here it appears that Polybius had read the Laws of Plato, as well as the Republic—though Plato and others have written very minutely and elaborately about the revolutions of states, he also wishes to give his views in a few and more simple words. Monarchy is natural, he thinks, to begin with, and this is elaborated into a regular *βασιλεία*, or kingdom; this degenerates into a despotism, *τυραννίς*; from the overthrow of this comes *ἀριστοκρατία*; from the decline of this into an *ὀλιγαρχία* comes the rise of the *δῆμος*, from the corruption of the *δῆμος* comes *ὄχλοκρατία* or mob government. Lastly, from the resulting confusion despotism comes round again. *τὸ πλῆθος . . . πάλιν εὔρη δεσπότην καὶ μόναρχον*. We have here, in the prosaic, practical statesman-historian Polybius, the Platonic order and the suggested order of the Nicomachean Ethics combined. The actually historic early kingship of heroic Greece and early Rome standing first instead of Plato’s ideal constitution, the tyranny, the aristocracy answering to Plato’s timocracy, the oligarchy of wealth, the *demos*, the corruption of the *demos* and ultimately despotism resulting. It is impossible not to see that the history of Rome, of which he is about to treat in this book, influenced the scheme of Polybius. The early monarchy, the tyranny of the Tarquins, the rule of the patricians, the rise of the new nobility of mixed patrician and plebeian origin, but all comparatively wealthy, the imminence of the rise of democracy in the time of which he was writing, with its promise of violence and confusion, with the figures of a coming Saturninus, Glaucia, C. Marius, and Caius Cæsar looming in the future.

We see here, I think, the immediate inspiring cause of Polybius's treatment of the subject. But that he treated it at all is a strong additional testimony that it was not merely a poetic or philosophic fancy of Plato that states constituted as were those of Greece and Italy did go through a fairly regular series of revolutions. There were, of course, disturbing causes. The Persian wars in Asia, Carthaginian wars in Sicily, the advocacy of the causes of oligarchy and democracy by Sparta and Athens respectively in the Peloponnesian war; these led to revolutions and counter-revolutions. But from a better stand-point than that even of Polybius, with a complete view of the whole story before us, though the details of the history of many minor cities which must have been well known to Plato and Aristotle have been lost to us, we may look at the general drift of ancient history, and see whether Plato, the earliest and greatest theoriser, whose name and view therefore I have taken for the title of this paper, was or was not justified in his general conception.

First of all, of course, in Plato's mind must have stood the history of his own city, Athens. His ideal state had never formed the starting-point in Athens or elsewhere, though *Ἐρεχθεῖναι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι* no doubt was a truism to him and others of the party in Athens who distrusted the democracy. The fiction of the 'good old times' is deeply engrained in the human mind everywhere and always. But it is noteworthy that all these ancient historians and philosophers accepted a degeneration of states, not their progress and improvement, as natural and obvious. In fact, there was progress in the ancient world. The Periclean democracy in Athens must have been far preferable to the præ-Solonian government. One of the latest efforts of the Greek political genius, the constitution of the Achaian League, was probably extremely well-devised. The Licinian laws in Rome were a real reform. Even under the Roman empire personal liberty, liberty of conscience, the power of living as you liked, were certainly better guarded in fact than under the

old republican constitutions of the cities. But the inherent vices of ancient society were such that a general rule of decadence presented itself to thoughtful men, very different from the hopeful, sometimes too sanguine, view of some modern writers on similar subjects.

But to return to the political experience of Plato founded upon Athenian history.

He must have heard of, as formerly existing, the aristocratic government of the Eupatridæ, answering to his *τιμοκρατία*, a rule of a class or caste of priestly nobles, who required no religious fiction such as that which in his Republic was to persuade the governors and others that the ruling class were of some special divine origin. The Eupatridæ were the people of Eretheus, of Cecrops, born of the soil, Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἐγγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες, children of the blessed gods, the only land-owners, governing by a divine right. The troubles which resulted in the forming of the Solonian constitution transformed this Timocratic state into an *ὀλιγαρχία* in Plato's sense, a state in which power was apportioned according to a property qualification. To this succeeded the efforts of those who were neither noble by birth nor rich to establish their right also to a share in the government. It was now that Athens passed through the phase of tyranny, when ruled by Peisistratos and his sons, but Plato is probably quite justified if he considered this as merely an episode in the establishment of democracy. The appearance of a tyrant in those earlier days of Greek history was merely a symptom of popular discontent with the old oligarchies, and these popular tyrants are not to be compared with men like Dionysius of Syracuse or the Thirty in Athens, who rose to power owing to the confusions of an established democracy. This latter class of Tyrants are rightly made to mark one epoch in the degradation of political constitutions. The former were merely a passing form of democratic progress. Peisistratos was supported by the poor against the noble and the rich (Herod. i. 59, &c.). He twice was expelled, and twice recovered his power by the aid of the same party.

He made no alteration in the form of government, though he administered it in fact himself, and when his family was finally expelled after his own death, the democracy had acquired such influence that their rule was finally established under the guidance of Kleisthenes. Like Peisistratos, Kleisthenes, the grandson of the great tyrant of Sicyon, probably aimed at a tyranny, but the democracy was now able to stand alone, and Kleisthenes died in exile. Ælian says that he was the first to suffer ostracism. The Athenian democracy so founded had gone through the glorious history which we all know, but it was not altogether to the taste of Plato. If it had resisted the Persians it had made a terrible mistake in its attempt to found an empire, and in its misconduct of the Peloponnesian war. It had, moreover, put to death Plato's master Socrates and perhaps threatened him himself with prosecution.¹ Plato had seen the Athenian democracy falling into the hands not of one but of the Thirty tyrants, the fate which he declares is awaiting democracies in general. Athens indeed seems to have shared his opinion, that this was the natural danger of democracies. A nervous dread of the power of a popular favourite constantly appears, as in the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, Alcibiades, and Conon, and in the prosecutions of Miltiades and Pericles, to omit the cases of smaller men, such as Chabrias and Iphikrates.

On leaving Athens, Plato had gone to Megara, and thence, according to the only story we have of his movements, he travelled to Syracuse, to Italy, and to Cyrene in Africa, and here he found further support for the same views.

If there was any Greek city which next to Athens would be most certainly present to Plato's mind, it was Syracuse. The affairs of Sicily had exercised too fatal a fascination for the Athenians in Plato's youth, and he himself visited the island and resided in Syracuse, apparently about 389 B.C.

¹ So many of the Socratic circle withdrew from Athens after the death of their master that it looks as if in the zeal of the restored democracy for ancient orthodoxy his school did not feel themselves safe.

He had a more than common interest in the people, and returned thither later in his famous and unfortunate visit to Dion; perhaps he visited it even twice more. Now Syracuse it would seem twice over ran through something very like the cycle of Platonic revolutions. The earlier series is only briefly noticed (in Herod. vii. 155, Dion. Hal. vi. 62, Arist. Pol. v. 4), and no details are possibly to be recovered, but we find that the old wealthy class of rulers, the Gamoroi, were expelled and a democracy set up, which rapidly became the tyranny of the house of Gelon. When in B.C. 466 this was brought to an end, by the expulsion of the tyrant Thrasyboulos, Syracuse became a *πολιτεία* in the Aristotelian sense (Pol. v. 4), in which, as we may also gather from the Thucydidean account of Syracusan affairs before the Athenian expedition to Sicily, the rich and noble had some special influence in the government. Diodorus indeed calls this constitution democratic, but he uses the word loosely for a republic, for in xi. 72 he tells us that all the offices of the state were given to the ancient citizens, and that the new citizens introduced by the late tyrants were not thought worthy or safe recipients of these privileges. It is pretty evident therefore that the Syracusan republic at this time, as first restored, was like that of Rome after the expulsion of the Tarquins, a free state so far as the old citizens were concerned, but one in which the new citizens favoured by the late kings had little share.¹ We are in ignorance of the exact steps by which in the course of some fifty years this aristocracy, or *τιμοκρατία* in the Platonic sense, became an *ὀλιγαρχία* in his sense, or a state in which the wealthy still retained power. The final change to a democracy came in B.C. 412 immediately upon the defeat of the Athenians. That victory had been won by the *δῆμος* serving on ship-board, and they took advantage of it to insist upon the completion of the democratic constitution. But the Sicilian Greeks were always

¹ Τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις ἀπένεμον· τοὺς δὲ ξένους τοὺς ἐπὶ Γέλωνος πολιτευθέντας οὐκ ἤξιον μετέχειν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, εἴτε οὐκ ἀξίους κρίναντες εἴτε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες.—Diod. Sic. xi. 72.

fickle and turbulent, and the completed democracy ran a disorderly course for six years only, before the invasion of the Carthaginians, which their own disorders had encouraged, caused the Syracusans to take refuge in the tyranny of the elder Dionysius, who was still reigning when Plato first visited Sicily, and probably when he wrote the Republic. He can have had no better opportunity than that afforded by his experience of the court of Dionysius of drawing from the life his character of the 'tyrannical man.'

Of very many Greek cities we possess, of course, only extremely fragmentary information, but of several in various parts of the Hellenic world we have notices which confirm the general prevalence of a similar cycle of revolutions, and these examples may be specially found and noticed in some of the other cities which Plato visited on his travels.

The case of Cyrene is one in point, for Plato not only went there but is said to have been asked to reform its constitution, a task which he declined. There had been a *τιμοκρατία* after the Spartan model, but the efforts of the nominal kings to make their power real led to revolutions and a reformed constitution devised by Demonax the Mantinean upon a wider but still limited basis, in which wealth probably had weight allowed to it (Herod. iv. 161, κ.τ.λ.). By the time of Plato this had passed into complete democracy, and then into tyranny (Diod. xiv. 34), and in his lifetime it was apparently alternately one or the other of these.

Among the other places to which Plato travelled after the death of Socrates, besides Cyrene and Sicily, was Italy, where the memory of the Pythagorean rule in the Italiot cities would interest him greatly. Croton had been the head-quarters of the Pythagoreans, and while the philosophic brotherhood directed its affairs it must have come as near as possible to his ideal state ruled by philosophers. Diogenes Laertius, indeed (viii. 3, quoted by Preller, 'Historia Philosophiæ'), recognises that here, if anywhere, was the ideally *best* government, the literal *ἀριστοκρατία*.¹

¹ Πυθαγόρας . . . ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας, κακεῖ νόμους θεῖς τοῖς

This government, however, besides the ordinary drawbacks which all who have had the misfortune to live under the rule of philosophers will take for granted, became a *τιμοκρατία* in the Platonic sense—an ambitious, warlike state. It was under the Pythagoreans that Croton conquered and destroyed Sybaris. Becoming overbearing and turbulent, the philosophic aristocracy was expelled from Croton and from the other Italiot cities, and after some confusion these cities accepted 'the laws and constitution of the Achæans' (Polyb. ii. 39), which from Xenophon's express testimony (Hellen. vii. 1),¹ and from what we know from Polybius of the later Achæan League, seem to have been democratic, tempered with an element of wealthy influence in theory, and still more so in practice; a *τιμοκρατικὴ πολιτεία*, in short, in the Aristotelian sense, or something near an *ὀλιγαρχία* in the Platonic. Subsequently there were in Croton democratic movements, and at last a native tyranny, besides foreign conquests by Sicilian tyrants. At the time of the Second Punic war, we learn from Livy (xxiv. 3) that the city was still convulsed by democratic and wealthy factions.

Among other cities with which Plato must have become acquainted in Italy was Tarentum, a Spartan colony, which was therefore in all likelihood originally what Plato would call a *τιμοκρατία*, a warlike aristocracy like Sparta. It then became a *πολιτεία* in the Aristotelian sense, a state of balanced constitution (Pol. v. 3), but by the destruction of a great number of the ruling people in a battle with the Iapyges, B.C. 473, it became a democracy. The conquest by Rome prevented its reaching the stage of tyranny, unless the rule of Archytas the Pythagorean, who practically managed the state for many years, be so considered. This personal rule was in Plato's lifetime, and his personal connexion with Archytas

¹ *Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ περὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες φηκονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.*—Diog. Laertius, viii. 3.

¹ There is another reading in Xenophon, *ἀρχαίους* for *Ἀχάων*, but the Achæan constitutions were not purely democratic.

makes it probable that this was one of the cities to which he refers.

In Sicyon, close to Megara where he first retired, there had been early dissensions and risings against the Dorian aristocracy, which had resulted in the establishment of the great tyranny of the Orthagoridæ. But during the Peloponnesian war the Government was an oligarchy, supported by Sparta (Thuc. v. 81). Later, it was a government depending upon a property qualification (Xenophon, Hell. vii. 1-3), till a democratic revolution was made in B.C. 368, followed by the tyranny of Euphron, which was established in Plato's lifetime. Afterwards, the city fell from tyranny to tyranny till it was brought into the Achæan League by Aratus.

In Sparta itself, the state to which in its original constitution Plato so clearly looked with admiration as an instance of, at all events, a drilled and systematic commonwealth, the decadence which he sketches was evidently at work, though the *dénouement* came long after his own time. Sparta had been exactly his *τιμοκρατία*, the bold and warlike aristocracy, secretly fond of money—his earliest ideal stage, as I said before, is not to be looked for in actual politics. The disease of covetousness and ambition was working in Sparta in his own day, just as he describes it as working in his ideal commonwealth. 'They invent ways of spending their money, and pervert the laws with that intent, and disobey them in their own persons and in those of their wives' (Rep. viii. 550). This is an exact description of Sparta after the Peloponnesian war, answering to Aristotle's description of her in the Politics.¹ She was, as Plato knew her, in fact, an oligarchy of the wealthy. It was not till more than 100 years later, in B.C. 226, that her *δημάργωγος* appeared in the person of the king Kleomenes, who, on the support of the democracy, newly endowed with the confiscated lands of the wealthy, established a tyranny, which was continued in the hands of Lycurgus, Machanidas, Nabis, and others.

¹ The line of Tyrtaeus : ἂ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν is so true that it was perhaps written after the disease had appeared.

That such an historical basis as we here have found for his argument was not foreign to the mind of Plato, we may see, I think, from the passage in the *Laws*, iii. pp. 676 κ.τ.λ. He gives there a professedly historical account of the origin of society, dropping his ideal constitution as a starting-point, but conducting his men afterwards into much the same path as that which he had marked out in the *Republic*. He starts with rude mountaineers, rich in extent of land about them, but as to man and his belongings surrounded by *μυρίαν τινὰ φοβερὰν ἔρημιν*, a fine poetical expression of desolation. They possess ceramic and textile arts, but are ignorant of metallurgy. Laws they have none exactly, but live according to custom and ancestral tradition, in families under patriarchal rule, *πατρονομούμενοι καὶ βασιλείαν πασῶν δικαιοσύτην βασιλεύόμενοι*; clearly under the *μόναρχος* or *βασιλεύς* of Polybius. Gradually the families coalesce into the *φρατρία*, with walled houses and cultivated land of their own, but retaining each their own patriarchal head and worship. Then come the *νομοθέται*, who select the various customs which seem best for all, and constitute the patriarchal kings into a body of *ἄρχοντες* forming an aristocracy. Thence the progress of civilisation, with corruption or development, is obvious, and Plato passes into consideration of the early crises of Greek society caused by the Trojan war and the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

Making due allowance for his limited field of observation, Plato might here be taken for a forerunner of the late Sir Henry Maine, or of the great French scholar, unhappily also taken from us now, M. Fustel de Coulanges. His ascription of ceramic and textile art to his primitive men, but no use of metals, is, I believe, a true conception, confirmed by the modern investigation of cave-dwellings.

But if Plato here is a singularly well-informed student of early history, it becomes the more likely, in spite of the speculative character of the *Republic* compared with the practical view of the *Laws*, that in the former too, he was not forgetful of the lessons of real life. He was dealing, we must remember, on this occasion with a class of revolutions well

known in fact to himself and to his hearers, who must, many of them, have personally experienced in their own states some of the changes which he describes.

To explain the regularity of these phases of government and revolution in the Greek cities, we may remember that in origin they were all the same as Plato has described them in the passage summarised above. One and all consisted of an alliance of families each with their own peculiar worship, held together by common worship in the *phratría*, in the tribe, and in the city, the names of the organisations between the *γένος* and the *πόλις* differing in different places, but the things being practically the same. I am not going to venture into the region of speculation concerning primitive marriage-laws and totem-worship, but the upshot is that everywhere this collection of sacred families were the only land-owners, and an aristocracy or oligarchy by nature, according nothing more than a bare toleration to the Plebeians, the Thetes, the Sudras or outcasts of one name or another who happened to live among them. Then all the cities, we may remember, were geographically in somewhat similar conditions, on islands or promontories, or on narrow belts of shore, or in small valleys, surrounded by natural barriers against expansion close at hand, often hemmed in by hostile tribes, as in Italy or in Asia Minor. They were, moreover, a people apt at trading, and geographically well placed for trade, with many natural productions to exchange, with easily navigated seas, and with a brisk trade already existing about them in the hands of the Phœnicians. Naturally, therefore, some of the people grew wealthy, and therefore powerful, irrespective of birth. Added to this was the want of political power, or perhaps I should simply say the want of morality, which made it apparently impossible for Greeks to combine political inequality with civil equality. If men had not an equal share in the government they never practically enjoyed equality before the law.¹ Taking all these reasons into consideration it is

¹ 'Whoever has a right to take part in the judicial and executive government in a state, him we call a citizen.'—Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1.

easy to see why the aristocracy was oppressive, how the wealthy were admitted to share its privileges, how the poor moved heaven and earth to gain equality with it and succeeded, by force and violence, as in Corcyra and elsewhere, and how having succeeded they all evolved a form of government in which every man was to have an equal share. This arrangement caused all their governments to become confused and powerless, and to fall into the hands of a master as an escape from anarchy. Aristotle has told us in the Politics of many instances in which war helped on the political changes, and all these cities were constantly at war and exposed to similar vicissitudes. Cities were aristocratic so long as cavalry was the chief arm in warfare, for only the land-owners could afford and keep good horses. The rule of the more wealthy who served as heavy armed infantry was overthrown when, as at Argos, the wealthy *ὀπλῖται* were cut off in a disastrous defeat. Sparta knew this danger well, and was therefore very chary of the lives of her ruling citizens in war. Or as at Athens and Syracuse, the service of the poor in the fleet gave them political influence also. The most ignoble part of the Demos 'did good service at Salamis,' as the conservative comic poet reminds us.

These are briefly and broadly the kind of reasons why we may recognise with Plato and Polybius one general law of development or of decay running through ancient political institutions. They do not hold good of the modern, nor of the mediæval world generally, though a similarity may be discovered between the history of some of the mediæval Italian and that of the ancient Greek cities. We may, it is true, amuse ourselves with some fanciful parallels. We may, not without high authority to back us, see the ideally perfect state in the constitution of our early English ancestors, when the pure early English form of self-government was uncontaminated by either Roman law, Frankish models, or Norman administration. We may say that after Hastings it became a *τιμοκρατία*, that from the Long Parliament to 1832 it was an *ὀλιγαρχία* or government by the wealthy, that then it

became a *δημοκρατία* and that the *τυραννίς* is at hand, to be imposed after the next general election with a despot 'wielding the fierce democracy' in the person of Mr. Labouchere or Sir William Vernon Harcourt. But though injustice leads to revolution and anarchy to despotism all the world over, modern life is, as I said earlier, too complex and too various to be reduced to the regular laws which we may find in a small and universally similar ancient society. But in that ancient society this law which Plato saw, and with characteristic and poetic boldness expressed in a symmetrical form, which Polybius saw, and which Aristotle partly acknowledged, did really exist. It is a common mould, into which all their history runs, it gives us a clue to guide us through the complexities of the revolutions of each particular city, and makes it easier to understand how their passionate feeling of local independence ran its natural course and brought them all at last into the great sea of Roman Imperialism, the final great *τυραννίς* with which all ancient history ends.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. STUART GLENNIE, having been called on to open the discussion, said that he felt little prepared to do so, first, because he had unfortunately heard but the latter part of the paper; and, secondly, because it was difficult to put at once into words all that it had suggested. Mr. Malden had shown that Plato had attempted to state a Law of Forms of Polity generalised from the personal knowledge which, as a traveller, he had acquired of the actual history of Greek cities. But one must now look at the sequence of these forms of Polity in the light which had been thrown, by M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his '*Cité Antique*,' on that change from Monarchies to Republics by which the opening of the Aryan age of civilisation, in the sixth century B.C., had been distinguished both at Rome and in Greece. These political changes had been proved by the French *savant* to be the mere sign and seal of far profounder economic and social changes. The political changes observed by Plato, and which he had attempted to generalise, were but effects of the development of that economic and social revolution of the sixth century B.C. It

is in the profounder economic and social changes that political changes have their roots ; and unless referred to such changes, any such law of political changes as that which Plato attempted to formulate can be but empirical. From this point of view also it is at least questionable whether there is any such great difference, as the Chairman appears to think, between the politics of the half-millennium which began in the sixth century B.C., and that which began in the sixteenth century B.C.—our present half-millennial period. For in both cases the chief economic causes of political changes are essentially the same, namely, the usurpations of great landlords, a consequent landless proletariat, and commercially acquired fortunes leading to the substitution for the old of a new and worse land-aristocracy. And the economic causes being thus similar, it can hardly appear improbable that the political sequences may also be similar to those stated by Plato and brought into relation with his actual experiences in Mr. Malden's able and suggestive paper.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE said he did not consider it to be necessary to enter upon the geographical and ethnographical considerations by which the construction of the Hellenic states was guided. Neither did he consider it desirable to enter on the financial causes which so often prompted revolutions and political changes. According to his understanding of Mr. Malden's paper, the object was to show that Plato and Aristotle in their scheme of classification had not acted on their own imaginations, but built upon an experience of actual events in the Hellenic world. He thought, too, that their writings were founded on a recognition of the influences acting on human nature. Having regard to the difference of condition of the Hellenic communities, he concurred with Mr. Malden that their experiences and the doctrines to be deduced from them could not be applied absolutely to modern communities. Still they did represent conditions of human nature, and in that respect became a subject of historical and political study. They were not without application in this respect, as any consideration of the South and Central American so-called republics would show. The main feature there was the development of individual and personal tyranny in conformity with the descriptions of Plato and Aristotle. The tyrant always began with a proclamation that he had restored liberty, and he proceeded to modify the constitution with the widest declarations of the extended rights of citizens. The government was worked by the instruments and tools of the tyrants, personating legislative, constitutional, and popular assemblies. The personal safety of the tyrant, who lived in a guarded house or quarter, was secured by bands of

mercenaries or rude Indian soldiers. Opponents of the ruler were placed in prison, accepted exile, fled or were driven into exile. A man received a summary notice that he must leave the country, abandoning his family and his property. These methods, more than counterfeit trials, executions, and military massacres, kept down revolt. A curious parallel to Hellenic events was produced by the exiles. These sought an asylum, like the Greeks, in states under the government of their own party, from which they received sympathy. Thus the exiles produced continuous unrest in their old country. Even if a large majority were in power, it was ousted by the exiles of the minority, making an invasion, supplied with arms, material, and money by its own outside partisans. Thus the balance of states is continually disturbed. With the exception of Chili no state is in a stable condition. The Argentine Confederation and the United States of Colombia have frequently been under good government, quiet and prosperous, but disturbed by revolutions and pronunciamientos of hostile factions. The Liberator Bolivar foresaw this, and prophesied that Venezuela and other states would become worse and worse. The careers of the tyrants are as remarkable as those of the despots of Hellas or Sicily. One who had been expelled was recalled by the general voice of his opponents as the only man who could conduct the government in its disordered condition. Each who so concurred knew that he was putting his liberty and life, as many after proved, in the arbitrary power of the ruler. Some of these men have plundered their dominions and retired to Paris with large hoards, even hundreds of thousands of pounds; others perhaps more dangerous have been incorrupt in their administration, and have died or retired poor. It is in such examples as these that we remember no teaching of history is to be neglected, and that we may still accept as serious studies the olden records of Plato, of Aristotle, and of Plutarch.

MR. HERBERT HAINES said that one of the reflections suggested by the very instructive paper for which we are indebted to Mr. Malden is the great difference, as to the sources of instruction, drawn by the political thinkers of the best age of Greek thought and their pupils of to-day.

No student of Political Philosophy will criticise the great masters of the science without remembering the debt of gratitude which, as Locke so freely acknowledged, is due to them; but, while admitting fully that we of the 19th century are as the dwarf who has climbed on the giant's shoulders, we may still, while reverencing the giant, congratulate ourselves on enjoying a wider outlook.

Plato, as Mr. Malden has pointed out, like the more practical Aristotle, confined his investigations to Hellenic city states ; he might have looked farther.

There was the Persian Empire, always in touch with the Greeks, in which one despot invariably succeeded another ; there were the Sicilian and Italian tribes, stamped out eventually by a higher civilisation wielding a stronger brute force, of whom we know nothing, but of whom Plato, had he used his opportunities, could have told us much ; there were the Gaulish tribes, whose contemporary condition must have been known to the Greek colonists of Massilia ; there was the constitutional kingdom of Macedon, last survival and greatest product of the heroic age.

But all these instructive examples of the past, and inestimable materials for speculations as to the future, were ignored by Plato. Surely the methods of our modern political philosophers are as superior to his as their cleverness is inferior to his genius ?

If *we* study the State Socialism of Prince Bismarck, we do not neglect to observe the results of the innovations of the demagogues of the Roman Republic ; if we investigate the origins of the Irish problem, we greedily devour travellers' tales as to the earliest known condition of the tribes of South Africa ; if *we* wish to understand the Swiss Federal Constitution, we read histories of the Achaian League, *we* draw parallels between Ancient Gaul and British India, *we* endeavour to understand the empire of Peru, before its overthrow by Pizarro, in the hope that such knowledge will help us to forecast some of the probable results of the establishment in England of a communistic republic. I would also venture to remark that the conditions of civilised states, recognised by Plato, differs in two important respects from those of the present day.

As has already been pointed out this evening, all civilised states of ancient times contained a slave population, which must have offered tempting materials to a revolutionist ; we know how such materials were used by Klearchus of Heraklia and by Sulla.

Nor must we forget that, with the important exception of Macedon, and perhaps of Sparta, all the great states recognised by Plato relied for defensive, and still more for aggressive, warfare on mercenary armies. The opportunities that the existence of such armies give to the revolutionist are too well known for me to occupy the valuable time of the Society by enlarging on.

But in answer to Mr. Malden's concluding remarks, may I point out that one reason for dreading and combating the rule of the Demos is, that in those days the armies of all the great European powers, except

England, were simply the bulk of the manhood of the state armed, trained, and disciplined. If then the unrestricted rule of the Demos should become an insupportable tyranny, by what human instrument will God deliver us out of its hand?

Mr. J. FOSTER PALMER said that the subject of cosmical natural laws in their influence on history is a most important one, and one which demands further investigation. That the life of nations, like the life of individuals, is controlled by natural laws, there can be no doubt, but that these laws can be ascertained, disturbing causes allowed for, and future events accurately predicted, is open to question. Plato, as Mr. Malden has, I think, clearly made out, constructed his theory upon the basis of the actual history of Greek cities within his own observation. From the history of Greek cities he deduced the history of all cities; from the history of cities he deduced the history of nations; and from the history of nations the life-history of individuals. He discovered a natural law acting within a limited area of observation, and assumed its universality. The scientific discoveries of the present day do precisely the same. When a natural law is brought to light, it is at once assumed to be both universal and eternal. This occurred in the case of gravitation, and also in that of evolution. These laws have been proved to hold sway within certain limits, but that they are unvarying, like a rule in mathematics, is contrary both to reason and experience. Not only does Plato's view of man's degradation stand in direct opposition to the universality of evolution, but later research proves that in certain instances this degradation has actually taken place. The recent discovery of the relics of a high state of civilisation at Copan, now inhabited by a race of comparative savages, can only be explained by admitting, at least, the occasional degradation of the human race. On the other hand, the sequence indicated by Plato, as may be proved by numerous instances, is by no means a constant one.

We see here a remarkable instance of the tendency of the human mind to run in a single groove even at vast distances of time, and it is a strange coincidence that Plato himself should have been the one to assert most strongly this mental community among mankind in a realistic form. If it were not that it is now utterly discredited, we should be able to find in this parallel tendency of thought in Plato and Darwin, a strong argument in favour of the separate personal existence of that archetypal essence, or *εἶδος* (or *ἰδέα*), unbounded by time or space, independent, and yet somehow present (*παρουσία*) in each individual mind, which Plato taught. It would further tend to show that the archetype of the Greeks was identical with that of the

English. In the present day, of course, such explanations are unnecessary ; and similarity of thought is accounted for in the same way as similarity of physical form, by hereditary influence. Even when there is no physical relationship, there is no doubt a tendency in the human mind under similar surroundings, and apart from all imitative influence, to develop a similar line of thought.

In another respect the resemblance between Plato's countrymen and our own is, perhaps, not quite so marked. We have heard a great deal of the wickedness of the Greeks in spending too much money on their wives. In this we have surely profited by Plato's warning. At any rate we do not hear so much of the crime in the present day. Perhaps some of us, in the ardent pursuit of virtue, may have ventured too far in the opposite direction, not without certain evil results. In this case we should bear in mind the precepts of Aristotle, and endeavour to rule our lives by the golden mean which he prescribed : *κατ' ἀμφοτέρα γάρ εἰσι ψεκτοὶ, καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολήν, καὶ κατ' ἐνδειαν.*

Mr. MALDEN very briefly in reply thanked the meeting for their reception of the paper. He imagined, in reply to Mr. Haines, that Plato deliberately confined his observations in the Republic to those Greek cities in which he had observed the working of a regular law. He was not in possession of facts concerning the barbarians upon which to build a theory.

It was true that after the Peloponnesian war, in the second era of tyrants, mercenary soldiers continually overthrew the freedom of the republics, and if they were to venture into prognostications concerning the wider and different questions of modern political development, he would fear that this might happen again. He could not agree with Mr. Haines, that the rule of the Demos would ever continue to arm and train the bulk of the manhood of the nation. Such a sacrifice of ease and present wealth, as an insurance against the future, was never likely to be perpetuated, except by a superior intelligence directing the nation.

Such considerations, however, were distinctly beyond the scope of the paper, which was to show that there was method in Hellenic politics, and that Plato had discovered that such was the case.

THE OLD IRISH ON THE CONTINENT.

BY PROFESSOR JULIUS VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG.

[*Translated from the German MS. of the Author.*]

A RESTLESS spirit of wandering drove the ancient Irish away to farthest lands, from Iceland and Norway to Spain, Southern Italy, Constantinople and Jerusalem. They became of some importance as regards the kingdom of the Franks, and the parts adjacent. Unhappily, however, these thousands and thousands of men made no note of their doings, and in Irish annals they have left no, or but little, trace behind them ; we are, therefore, forced to piece them together in laborious mosaic-work out of chance Continental traditions.

St. Jerome knew of Scots, whom he had seen in Gaul ; one of his chief Pelegian opponents was an Irishman, perhaps Celestius, who certainly lived on the Continent. It is quite uncertain as to the Irish descent of Mansuetus, the first bishop of Toul, of the martyrs Eliphius and Eucharius, and of the poet Celius Sedulius (Siadal, Siudal), in the fourth and fifth centuries ; and also the stay of St. Patrick and his disciple Mochta (Macteus) in Gaul and Rome is less to be believed than to be wished. We come to more certain ground with the Breton Riochat, bishop, monk, and pilgrim, who lived in Clermont about 475-80. At the beginning of the sixth century, Fridolin is thought to have appeared in Poitiers, Strasburg, and Basle, and to have founded the monastery of Seckingen. It is said that an Irishman named Samson, with many followers, migrated about the middle of the sixth century to Armorica and the northern part of the Frankish realm. In the year 577 came Winnoch from Brittany to Tours, in order to proceed to Jerusalem. Shortly thereafter

the most important of the ancient Irish stepped upon the Continent, Columban the younger ; and thenceforth his fellow-countrymen overflowed the provinces like a flood. Especially were they to be found in the eastern provinces, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, soon spreading into German territory.

The Irish presented themselves in four aspects in the realm of the Merovingians—as monks, as converters of the heathen, and as a disturbing element ; later we find them rather as teachers and scholars. The chief representative of Irish monasticism is the above-named Columban, the founder of Luxeuil in France and Bobbio in Italy. At the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixth century (about 583) he crossed the ocean. At that time the condition of the Church in the kingdom of the Franks lay painfully low : her inner life had perished ; worldly ideas and desires had entered in its stead. Here a natural field of action offered itself for an austere, energetic nature, fixed upon the Imperishable ; full of the fear of God, Columban lived fearless among men. The youthful vigour of the Church of his island home he carried as far as possible into that of the Franks, that is to say, in the monastic characteristic of the former he strove after a reform of convent life. After the pattern of Iona, the chief Irish-Scottish monastery, he placed Luxeuil at the head of a wide-spread congregation. Irish observances became united under his name into one, or more correctly two, monastic rules, thoroughly impregnated with austere severity. With violence, by stripes and imprisonment for the smallest error, should goodness be obtained ; by force every development of life should turn to religious activity, the will be broken, asceticism and moral perfection taken to be synonymous. No new thoughts, indeed, present themselves in the rule ; the will-power alone was new, with which the demands were enforced in command and prohibition. Never was the final aim of monasticism so clear in France, never ventured in such fearful earnest. Thence its effect : on individual natures it was so powerful that a rich Frank, for instance, gave his possessions to the poor, in order to enter

Luxeuil as the servant of his servant. Particular rules for the maintenance of monastic discipline are not given. To austerity within walls joined itself in true Irish-Scotch wise the working outside by example and preaching. Columban, as well as his disciples, went about preaching. From time to time gifted brethren were designedly sent out as wandering priests; a thing which was not formerly usual in France, because preaching appertained to the secular clergy.

The picture of the Irish saint shines with unusual brightness, partly on account of its significance, but also not less because it is of him that an excellent, almost contemporary, biography has been preserved. Consequently Columban's influence is often over-estimated, many a thing ascribed to him which depends upon the collective working of his countrymen, as for instance the universal discipline of penance. The particularly efficacious ordinances of the Irish direction—the penitential and monastic rule—were not compiled by himself; his contemporary, the diffuse and detailed narrator, Bishop Gregory of Tours, takes no notice of him, which is the more remarkable, as Columban once resided in Tours. In the strife with king and bishop he was finally obliged to quit the field. On November 23 he died at Bobbio, leaving the completion of his work to his fellow-countrymen and disciples.

While the Anglo-Saxons sailed over the Channel and up the Seine, to the Irish the journey over the kindred Brittany or the entrance into the Loire seemed more desirable; whereby, while Paris and its wide environs soon became a kind of central point to the former, the Loire district, viz. Poitiers, Tours, Orleans, and Fleury-sur-Loire, became so to the Irish. On the other hand, Franks and Romans united in a diligent observation of the reforming direction of the Irish, while those who rose to office and honours laboured on in the same spirit. As before on the Emerald Isle, so now also in the kingdom of the Franks, it straightway became the fashion to erect monasteries, and numerous are those which are directly or indirectly connected with the Irish, although in this matter exaggeration is often used.

St. Galle's elder brother, Dicuil, in 625 founded the abbey Lure; the Irishman Fursy, between 640 and 650, Lagny, near Paris, which Chlodovech II. enriched. Fursy is also thought to have caused Mont St. Quentin near Peronne and Mont-des-Cygnés to be established for Irishmen. The names of Fiacrius, Chillenus, Ultanus, Foillanus, associate themselves with the places Meaux, Faremoutier, Chelles and Andelys-sur-Seine. Besides these, Corbie, Montier-la-Celle near Troyes, Montier-en-Der near Dijon, Remiremont, Romainmoutier and others present themselves. At Ghele in Belgium there yet stands an old church with the relics of St. Dymrna, a king's daughter, who is said to have fled from Ireland in the seventh century, and to have founded the church of Ghent. In the region on the left bank of the Rhine we may name Ebermünster, Medianum, Thomasstift at Strasburg, Hohenburg, Honau, Hagenmünster, and St. Paul's at Mayence.

Luxeuil, Rebais, St. Vandrille, Solignac, and St. Omer became specially important. Luxeuil shone for a time, looked up to as a place of education and a seminary for larger institutions. Columban had after Irish fashion already placed under it the two neighbouring monasteries of Anagray and Fontaines; it was afterwards further extended, a species of jurisdiction over other convents being granted to the Abbot of Luxeuil. From Luxeuil emanated famous bishops and founders of monasteries, as Audomar (St. Omer), who ascended the bishop's throne of Terouane, and erected the monastery of Sithiu (St. Omer), which has twenty-two saints to exhibit belonging to its church. The founder of Solignac, St. Eligius, was also a monk of Luxeuil. Solignac was long distinguished for its severe discipline, and spread its views specially into Lower Germany. To it belonged St. Remaculus, the founder of Stablo and Malmedy. St. Vandrille was almost more deeply revered by the Pepins than St. Denis, and became a model for other founders.

In a number of monasteries the so-called Columban rule was introduced, but it was unable fully to come into operation

—on the one hand, on account of its singularity and imperfection, on the other hand, because but a short time was allowed to it for undisturbed development. Soon after Columban had traversed the Alps southwards, the rule of St. Benedict pressed northwards across them ; the work of a well-balanced mind and of a talent for organisation, which completed and modified the one-sided and harsh rule of Columban. Thereby St. Benedict's creation found also an entrance in monasteries which had hitherto observed the Irish rule ; they then lived according to the rule of Benedict and Columban. Both became also blended with one another when put into writing, as in Donat's rule, whereby it came naturally to pass that Benedict's rule, as being the more practical, was taken for a foundation, and the Irish was rather used as supplementary. Columban's rule died out quickly under such conditions ; it was too much directed towards the momentary excitement of the mind. As early as the year 663 the Benedictine had become almost universal. The causes of rapid decline are further to be found in the exaggerations and defects of the Columban rule, in the fitness of the Benedictine, together with the influence of Gregory the Great and the favour of the bishops. Nevertheless, we must not undervalue how beneficently the Irish monastic system worked upon the depressed spiritual life of the kingdom of the Franks. By preaching and zeal for souls the mind of the Irish-Scot entered into the people. It directed their minds to penitence, the forgiveness of sins, and the certainty of grace. Columban's follower, Abbot Eustace of Luxeuil, expressed thus early Luther's famous thesis : ' All Christendom must at all times exist by penitence and contrition.'

An entirely similar result ensued when, if one may so say, the inner mission became a part of the outer. Unfortunately history has preserved to us comparatively few of the names of those men who plunged into the primitive woods of Germany, usually in the apostolic number of twelve, clothed in a pilgrim's mantle, with pilgrim's staff in hand, a

pouch hung round for book and relics, the eyelids painted, in order in their native fashion to build in an enclosed space a number of small wooden huts and a wooden chapel. Columban had already pointed the way to the East. Being obliged to avoid Burgundy, he collected a number of his monks, advanced up the Rhine valley as far as Bregenz, where he stayed some years and fastened the bond connecting the conversion of the Alemanni with the Irish. When he went forth, Gallus, one of his most active companions, stayed behind, and founded the monastery of St. Galle, which from simple beginnings grew to be one of the first scholastic establishments of the realm and a homestead for the Irish. Side by side with St. Gallus stand forth several men of his direction who established Kempten, Dissentis, St. Trudpert, Kreuznach, and other places, of which the greater number unostentatiously and noiselessly fell into decay. Under Charles Martel laboured Pirmin in Alemannia. He was, after Irish custom, abbot and bishop, finisher of the Peregrin monastery Murbach in Alsace, founder of the important Reichenau, and a kind of monastic reformer.

In Bavaria the already-named Eustace of Luxeuil was active, among whom even more than among the Alemanni, Arianism and Catholicism, German and Romanism intermingled with heathenism. The carrying on of his work he transferred to disciples whom he left behind him, followed repeatedly by reinforcements, amongst them the restless Agrestius, and John, who caused himself to be immured at Gottweig. The Papacy is also said to have turned its attention towards Bavaria in the time of Eugene I., by sending thither Marinus and Anianus. Gradually the Irish-Scots and Franks conquered, whereby the Bavarian Church took a monastic character. This appeared even in Salzburg, Regensburg, and Freising.

In the Netherlands we hear of St. Foillan, who founded the monastery of Fosse in the diocese of Liège. He fell by the hand of an assassin, as did also Livinus, who is said to have gone with three companions to Ghent. Irish origin is

also ascribed to other apostles of the Lower Rhine. Together with veritable Irishmen there appeared in those parts by the medium of the Franks an indirect Irish influence, as with Amandus and Remaclus, the latter a scholar of Luxeuil, abbot of the Columban-Benedictine Solignac and Stablo, and finally Bishop of Maestricht. Among the western Frisians, Eligius aided the victory of Christianity, who likewise belonged to the Irish-Scotch connection.

We meet with the Celts more directly among the Thuringians. St. Kilian, the widely-honoured bishop of the neighbourhood of the Maine, sprang from that race; his principal associates are said to have been Colomat and Totnan. Thanks to the work of such apostles, Thuringia by the beginning of the eighth century might be considered as a fairly Christian land.

Notwithstanding the lamentable want of certain tradition, one meets with Irishmen from the North Sea to the valleys of the Alps. While the Frankish Church lay crippled, they formed outside almost the only quickening element. But yet they did not succeed to the full as missionaries; they were wanting in talent for organisation and perception of the practical. Individuals, or groups of individuals, worked at various places; but without superior guidance, and divided among themselves, their doings remained a mosaic-work, and were in many cases carried on without foundation. As compared to their domestic views, their feeling concerning baptism as a sacrament was but feebly developed; the striving to unite the heathen masses visibly with Christianity by strictly enforced baptism was wanting; so that many did not themselves know whether they were indeed Christians or no. The erection of monasteries instead of bishoprics and parsonages also produced disorder; many Irishmen wandered restlessly about, or, fleeing from the world, buried themselves in solitude. They therefore often appeared to the Germans to be strange saints, rather than pastors. Their singularity deprived them of the support that their work needed, both in the Frankish Church and in the Papacy; from without men were

wanting for the vast mission-field, and within they did not understand how to train the necessary forces among the very people to whom they preached. They remained foreigners to an even greater extent than in England, and their Church seemed but an imported product of art. All this increased as the reputation of the Irish sank in the kingdom of the Franks, the reserve land behind them; and open and superior opponents stepped forth, even the Anglo-Saxons, who wrested from them the soil which they had conquered, but so feebly defended. Nevertheless, the important fact remains that the Irish first designedly brought Christianity to the inland Germans. They did not achieve the highest, yet they did much; they laid the foundation, upon which the Anglo-Saxons were afterwards able to build the Church.

At first the proceedings of the Anglo-Saxons resembled those of the Irish: as Columban wandered, so did Boniface; as the former, so the latter influenced the Frankish Church, but in far higher degree; indeed, most assuredly, in the Anglo-Saxon mission the Irish stand in the foreground. In the Irish monastery of Mellifont lived the Anglo-Saxon Egbert, who was struck down by tempest while on an evangelising journey to the Frisians. In his stead the Anglo-Saxon Wigbert was sent; then, in true Irish fashion, Wilibrord with twelve associates, who carried out what Egbert had attempted, and for which Wigbert had striven. So likewise with the apostles of the Saxons, the two Ewalds; they also were Anglo-Saxons who had lived long in Ireland. The tradition of the Irish method of conversion was still so powerful that a course of preparation was, so to speak, first to go through upon the island. Even the youth of St. Boniface offers a point of contact with the Celtic Church. He entered as monk into the monastery of Adescanastre, situated on the border between the British and Saxon races. One of his most noteworthy friends was Abbot Aldhelm, the disciple of the Irish-Scotch Maildulf.

Very soon the Anglo-Saxons came forth in the full superiority of their race; favoured by identity of origin, by

the Crown and the Papacy : success was certain to them beforehand. Yet naturally the Celts did not voluntarily vacate their territory, and thus Britain's antagonisms were transferred to the Continent. The driving back of the Irish-Scotch influence in Germany, and then in the kingdom of the Franks, is at the same time a victory of the Anglo-Saxons over the Celts. In Thuringia the opposition to Boniface was but feeble ; he came as papal bishop, with a letter of protection from Charles Martel, and entered upon a greatly disturbed state of affairs, requiring arrangement. In Bavaria the Celts held their ground better, favoured indeed by the duchy, until Boniface forced his way through there also, after having come to an understanding with the Bavarian clergy. But for long after this Irish-Scottish influence was yet at work. An Irishman, named Samson, maintained that one might become a Catholic without baptism ; Boniface himself rose to contradict two monks, Virgilius and Sidonius, called in Irish Feargil and Segna, of whom the former was abbot of Salzburg. He remained a ' Peregrine,' and caused episcopal matters to be executed by Dobdagrecus, an avowedly Irish bishop.

The struggle between the native Irish-Scottish and the Anglo-Saxon Roman produced great commotions and peculiar ebullitions of life, which did not keep them in the limits of established churches, as with Clemens and Aldebert. The former, an Irishman, seems to have been active as an itinerant bishop, and spoke—probably with regard to the frequent marriages of priests in Ireland—against the celibacy of the clergy. Further still in many things went the mystic Aldebert, to whom the people flocked in masses.

The appearance of these and of similar men is explained by the complete decay of the Frankish Church of that time. Pope Zacharias might well sigh, ' There was among you no difference between laymen and priests.' Many things had become confused in the licentious, wild kingdom of the Franks, and amongst them Irish customs. In the Frankish realm and in Ireland baptism was often performed with-

out chrism, with washing of feet ; their ordination and mass also was somewhat similar, and here, as there, women were obliged to appear veiled at the communion. In Ireland Gallic antiphons and missals were used ; in the kingdom of the Franks the Capuchin cloak, worn by Irish wandering friars, became the most usual monkish garb. Most important of all, however, was the dissolution of the Frankish episcopacy through the Irish.

It began with the exemption of monasteries. Before the arrival of the Irish, according to the Council of Chalcedon, the subordination of a monastery to the bishop of the diocese was looked upon as a thing of course. This was changed. When Solignac was established, the founder Eligius granted a certain jurisdiction over the same to the mother-convent of Luxeuil. This agreed with Irish-Scottish customs, but not with Frankish, and at the same time it concealed a limitation of the bishop, it being moreover expressly stated therein that neither he nor anyone else should have any right over possessions or persons in the monastery. In the foundation grant of Resbach the monastery was left at liberty to choose a bishop at its pleasure for episcopal ministrations. In the grants of two other Irish-Scotch institutions, Murbach and Honau in Alsace, was added the exclusion of the diocesan bishop on the decline of the monastic discipline. The effort of the increasingly powerful monasteries to render themselves independent of the bishop led to all kinds of attempts, among which the introduction of the Irish episcopal system presented itself as the most ready and efficacious measure ; in consequence of which the bishop occupied by ordination a higher rank than the presbyter-abbot, but as a matter of fact was subordinate to him, only his spiritual assistant. The monastic episcopacy seems first to have appeared in the Columban monasteries, but it soon spread further. In the west of the realm, where old-established ecclesiastical customs prevailed, monastic bishops could only be appointed in abbeys which were equal in power to bishoprics, such as St. Martin of Tours and St. Denis of Paris. In both these this

arrangement is found. The east of the realm, with its young dioceses and its smaller population, with more extensive Irish immigration, offered a far better field. Here, then, especially during the second half of the eighth century, monastic bishops became a matter of course. They appear in St. Maurice-en-Valais, in Lobbes, Stablo, Malmedy, Murbach, Honau, and other places. In the death confederation of Attigny it was found necessary to pay special attention to them. Generally speaking, the monastic abbot and monastic bishop were identical, which appears also the most natural thing; but this was not always the case. Yet other monastic bishops could be present, so that one of the records of Honau was actually signed by seven such men. The land bishops, usual in those times, proved themselves serviceable to the institution; for they likewise stood outside the episcopal order, although inversely, as authorised agents of the pastor of the diocese.

The competence of the monastic bishop gradually developed from simplicity to a wider scope. At first the current affairs of the Church were essentially incumbent upon them. According to a bull from Pope Adrian I. to St. Denis, the monastic bishop had to preach to the faithful, to perform holy rites inside the monastery and upon its lands, and to prepare the chrism, he only to preserve the pastoral office there. When anything is to be amended or punishment to be inflicted, he must, according to rule, interpose by consent of the abbot. The choice of the bishop of a monastery is made by the abbot and convent, his ordination performed by the neighbouring bishops, or, upon their refusal, by the Pope. In any dispute between the neighbouring bishops and the bishop of the monastery they may only take action against the latter by consent of the abbot; should the abbot refuse, the matter must be referred to the Pope.

It was therefore now the Papacy which ruled and enlarged the rights of the diocesan bishops, in order to win them as partisans of the Pope against the too-independent

town bishops. The monastic bishop now belonged to the episcopal order ; he still remained, however, a monastic person, who stood in the place of diocesan pastor only to the monastery and its district, securing thereby quiet and independence within them.

Besides the installed monastic bishops there was also a group of associates who moved about preaching and officiating ; Irish-Scotch priests who had received episcopal consecration. Such itinerant bishops must from time to time have wandered in great numbers, especially in the East ; the better of them usually worked as missionaries.

To the Frankish episcopate, averse from all official business, such Irish immigration came very opportunely to lighten for it its avocation. Monastic bishops, itinerant bishops, and land bishops all sprang from the like root and from the like necessity. The well-installed town bishops let them work on their account, at first more occasionally, but soon almost constantly, so that a land bishop might for years together administer a diocese as actual bearer of the crozier, or several land bishops consecutively.

That such circumstances must at last become a source of disorder and inconvenience is evident. None knew whether those men who arrived from afar and exercised office were really ordained ministers, or whether they were deceivers and rogues. All kinds of people thronged into the highest dignities of the Church : Irish, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons, bond and free. It came to such a pass that Pope Zacharias wrote of false priests, of whom there were almost a greater number than Catholic—swindlers, who fraudulently bore the semblance of bishops and priests, without having ever been ordained by Catholic bishops ; they led the people astray, and brought the mysteries of the Church into disorder.

The Frankish Church found itself in complete ruin when at last the reaction followed. It came from the barely converted territory beyond the Rhine, attached itself to the name of Boniface, and was founded upon the co-operation of Crown and Papacy, and placed a real branch of the

papal Catholic Church in the stead of the local country Church.

The reform began on April 21, 742, with the first Austrasian National Council. It assembled in order 'to restore the law of God and the sanctity of the Church.' The fourth canon was directed against the Irish-Scots, inasmuch as it set forth that unknown bishops and priests should not be admitted to ecclesiastical functions before being tested by the Synod.

It is very possible that English precedents exerted influence upon this through the medium of Boniface. As early as 673 on the other side of the Channel the Synod of Hertford had come to a similar decision, while another in the year 705 interposed against the malignant heresy of the Britons.

In the kingdom of the Franks the already trodden way was followed. The Synod of Soissons in 744 confirmed the enactment of the preceding assembly. Three years later Pope Zacharias wrote to Pepin that no Peregrin bishop should be received without a commendatory letter and an examination; of Boniface he required that those 'servants of the devil' should be compelled to submit themselves to monastic discipline and penance, and to change their mode of life. So in 753 the right to ordain priests was prohibited to the itinerant bishops at Verberie; in Verneuil it was decreed that they should undertake no official matters without command from the bishop; in Rouen, without permission of the Synod. The Council of Châlon-sur-Saône in 813 declared their ordinations null and void, and in 816 the English fathers at Celcyth provided that no one should receive baptism or the Lord's Supper from an Irish priest, or hear Mass from him.

Once commenced, one sees enactments following rapidly in close succession. The rebuilding of the Frankish Church and the removal of the Celtic system went hand in hand—were even to some extent dependent one upon the other. As Columban had laboured as regenerator of Frankish monasticism, so Boniface became that of the Church. The

Irish-Scotch itinerary and monastic episcopate succumbed: it was embodied into the Anglo-Saxon Roman direction, or, being overwhelmed, it inwardly decayed. After an opposition of about sixty years, in the third decade of the ninth century it came to an end.

Yet now the Celts arose in other fashion. In their native land an educational system had sprung up, and had flourished to an extent which found no equal in the western land. They studied Latin and Greek, even Hebrew; theology, philosophy, mathematics, poetry and art, and these in writing; drawing, the working of metals, sculpture and architecture, and many other things. In the wild realm of the Merovingians such refined enjoyments had found little or no place. But a resuscitation of mediæval ages had taken place under Charles the Great, at the same time when the Irish education had reached its highest point. From monks and priests the Irish became teachers of the West, partly indirectly through influence upon Anglo-Saxon knowledge, partly directly through their own activity. Charles the Great drew Anglo-Saxons and Irish to himself, and did them honour in his court. The monks of St. Gall denominated the king 'their Charles.' He made presents to Irish chiefs, who wrote to him like subjects. His confidant Alcuin maintained literary intercourse with learned men of Ireland.

The mutual intercourse became yet closer under that benevolent friend of knowledge, Charles the Bald. To him Hericus could write that 'Greece was jealous,' and almost the whole of Ireland, scorning the sea and its dangers, was betaking itself to the kingdom of the Franks with a multitude of philosophers. The more learned and able an Irishman was, the more readily did he throw himself into this exile, where a new Solomon moved. When the Irish king Malachy had achieved a victory over the Northmen he sent ambassadors in 848 to the King of the Franks with presents to secure an unhindered journey to Rome.

Far deeper and more lasting than these official relations were those connected with the national Church, which were

just at that time unusually strengthened through the plundering raids of the Northmen in Ireland, and the number of exiled fugitives. On the arrival of Aigulf some brethren of Tours exclaimed : ' Here comes this Irish-Scot to that other who lies within. O God ! deliver our convent from these men, for as bees flock from all sides to their queen, so come all these to him.' We see that often no distinction was made between Irish and Anglo-Saxons. The so-called ' Lorian Annals ' give the dates of the deaths of Irish abbots in the years 704, 705, 706, 726, 729. The immigration was so strong that the Synod of Meaux in 845 decreed the restoration of the ruinous Irish-Scotch convents in the kingdom of the Franks. Walafrid Strabo was of opinion that a pilgrim's life had become second nature to the Irish, and even Bernard of Clairvaux wrote : ' These swarms of saints overflowed like a flood.'

Nevertheless, we are even now only partially in a position to point out the Irish upon the Continent : their appearance was ordinary, and moreover too transient to leave distinct traces behind it ; they often bore a Latin or Latinised name, and in other surroundings they gave up much of their native individuality ; from timid, wandering monks they became illustrious scholars and men of the world.

Especially in religious philosophy they earned renown. After the death of Charles it lay so low that the Irish have been called the first scholastic theologians. The most important representative in this direction was John Scotus Erigena. At a ripe age, in 840, he came to the court of Charles the Bald, became his friend, sharer of his board, and director of the court school. Like Bede, he lived as a universal, singular and creative head ; a thinker, scholar, translator, poet, philosopher and theologian ; eloquent, witty, of quick understanding and great dialectic versatility. His learning seemed to many of his contemporaries unexampled. As the first mediæval philosopher, he invented an elaborated system of which he understood how to make good demonstration. In a bold flight of genius he placed philosophy on

an equality with theology, and reason higher than the Holy Scriptures, without always remaining master of his fantasies. Out of neo-Platonic elements he contrived a Christian system. With him all things centred in the divine nature, finding their conclusion in the return to God. Thinking and being were to him the same.

Erigena's writings, particularly his discussion on transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper, and his views on predestination, excited great surprise and earned for him the reputation of a heretic. Synods and Pope declared themselves against him. His chief later disciple is Berengar of Tours.

Besides Erigena many subordinate fellow-countrymen now show themselves active in the kingdom of the Franks. One of them lived in warm friendship with the Spanish poet Theodulf and the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin. Another, the Irishman Clemens, worked as director of the court school of Charles, and also educated the subsequent Emperor Lothaire. Such was his reputation, that the abbot of Fulda sent several of his most capable monks to him to study grammar. He wrote discourses, and a treatise upon the parts of speech. Contemporary with him the Irishman Joseph laboured, a pupil and friend of Alcuin, at whose request he made an abridgment of Jerome. In addition, six poems by him in hexameters are known. He is far surpassed by a banished Irishman (perhaps Dungal, or, as some think, the above-named Clemens) who composed a eulogistic poem upon the victory of Charles the Great over Thasselo, Duke of Bavaria (787), of which ninety-three hexameters have been preserved. As court poet he celebrated in song the monarchical form of government, and dedicated some verses to Gundrad, the learned aunt of Charles. An epic fragment, probably the third book of a series, celebrates Charles's heroism, after the style of Virgil and Venantius. Dümmler has published twenty-three poems of the 'exiled Irish.'

As regards Dungal more sure ground is offered by the

scientific opinion concerning solar eclipses written by him for Charles the Great in 810. Later he selected Pavia as a residence, where, as director of the university, he drew to him those desirous of learning from all the country round. He was considered so learned that, in a dispute about the pictures of saints and the worship of saints, he was appointed to oppose the intellectual Spaniard Claudius. His death probably ensued in the monastery of Bobbio, to which he also bequeathed his library. Dicuil, grammarian and versifier, astronomer and geographer, laboured likewise at court, and was from 814 to 816 composing an astronomical work. He it is to whom we are indebted for the first certain information of the islands of the far north; in this matter favourably contrasting with the ignorance of the geographers Ravennas and Istrier Aithikos, whose Ireland still lay almost outside the world.

Being on a journey to Rome, the Irish bishop Marcus stayed long in Northern Italy, where in 822 he wrote a history of Britain. In Fiesole laboured the Irish Donat as bishop, who in 844 was present at the coronation of Louis II., and in 861 at the Lateran Council. At Soissons an Irishman, Marcus, was bishop; at Angoulême the Irishman Elias, who took no unimportant part in the affairs of Church policy. His best scholar was considered to be Herich, monk of St. Denis, author in 873 of a eulogistic poem upon St. Germanus. An Irishman Meagher (Macarius) propounded the doctrine of Averoes concerning the unity of intellect in the human soul. In other ways also the Irish made themselves remarkable in various places.

Suabia became of particular importance to the Irish, especially Western Switzerland, the district of the Rhine's source. Their name is there particularly associated with the monasteries of Rheinau, Reichenau, and St. Galle; the great minster of Zurich also from time to time contained Irishmen. Rheinau became famous in 870 through Findan, who inhabited there a solitary cell, and led a life of the most rigorous self-denial. He was present at the enshrining of the

relics of St. Blasius, that is, at the founding of the soon famous Black Forest convent of St. Blasius. Another Irishman, Eusebius, occupied in 854 the solitude of Mont St. Victor in the land of the Grisons. Irish education, manuscripts, and occasionally also Irish monks, were to be found in Reichenau. Here the life of St. Findan was written, noteworthy by reason of some portions being in the Irish tongue. About the year 860, Ermenrich of Reichenau wrote to Grimwald of St. Galle: 'How could we ever forget Ireland, the isle whence the brilliant rays of so great a light and the sun of faith arose for us?'

The most important Irish convent on the Continent, a school of culture for Upper Germany, was St. Galle. A catalogue of monastic manuscripts from the middle of the ninth century mentions thirty-one volumes and pamphlets in the Irish tongue. At that time the Irish Moengal was director of the monastic school (according to the records, from 848-865)—viz. of the interior department for monks, while Iso conducted the exterior for the sons of the nobility. It would seem that the school was arranged in this division according to Irish fashion. Tuotilo, a pupil of Moengal, was master of the Irish instrument, the harp. Under Moengal's disciples the institution reached its height. A second period of splendour blossomed for it about the year 1000, as two Irishmen again conducted the school. Even the gardens at St. Galle were laid out by an Irishman. In the Irish arts, in music and in manuscripts with illuminations, the convent also led the way. Tuotilo taught music in a special chamber. As in St. Galle, so also in other places in Switzerland, Irish codexes are preserved; in Schaffhausen, Basle, and Berne. One of the most ancient monuments of the German tongue, the vocabulary of St. Galle, dating from about 780, is written in Irish character. To this day St. Galle possesses an old four-cornered bell and a silver book-case, probably of Irish workmanship; the sacristy of Reichenau, St. Findan's bowl; the cathedral of Coire, an Irish reliquary and tombstones in Irish style.

Next to Switzerland, Northern Italy became from time to time noteworthy through the Irish. We have already mentioned their chief places there—Bobbio, Pavia, and Milan. St. Columban's foundation betrays a lasting Irish influence, particularly by its manuscripts. Many a son of the Emerald Isle proceeded thither to worship at the tomb of the saint. Pope Honorius I. in 628 granted to the monastery a privilege of exemption like that of the sister establishment in the kingdom of the Franks. In the year 982 the famous Gerbert became abbot there, who afterwards ascended the papal chair as Sylvester II. In Bobbio he wrote his 'Geometry,' in great part relying upon Irish sources, which became an important handbook of the Middle Ages.

A more extensive sphere of the Irish was Lorraine, with Liège, Ghent, Metz, and Cologne. As early as the ninth century the University of Liège became famous through several Irishmen, the most prominent of them being the versatile Sedulius Scotus (Seadul, Scheduil, about 840-868), a master of mythology and history, of Greek and perhaps Hebrew, a poet, musician, grammarian, and theologian. He probably wrote a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul; certainly the 'Mirror of Princes,' a work of ripe thought; and numerous occasional poems, among them a jest about a stolen sheep. From Liège Sedulius turned his steps with some of his fellow-countrymen towards Italy, where he found admittance in Milan. His over-refined style seems to have operated long afterwards in Liège. In the tenth century the Irish were in connection with the circles of Lorraine Church reform, and rejoiced in the favour of the bishops of Southern Lorraine. Metz sometimes became one of their rallying-points; next the neighbouring convent of Waussor (Vassor). Its first abbot was the Irishman Mac-callin, who had come to the kingdom of the Franks with the learned Cadroe. In the year 950 the latter became his successor, and died abbot of the monastery of St. Felix and St. Clemens in Metz. He was followed by the Irish Fingen, to whom the Irish-favouring bishop Adalbero II. of Metz

also assigned the newly erected St. Symphorien. It numbered seven Irish monks besides the abbot, and was in a manner privileged by the Emperor Otto III., who finally restricted it to Irish monks. Nevertheless the institution fell into decay, till Abbot Constantine restored it. Irish monks also worked in St. Arnulf's of Metz at the close of the tenth century. From it has come down a richly illuminated Codex of the Gospels, now in the possession of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein.

Metz appears to have reacted upon the neighbouring bishoprics of Verdun and Toul. Fingen founded the convent of St. Peter in Verdun at the close of the tenth century. In 986 Irish and Greek monks are said to have held combined divine service in Toul. The brother of Otto I., afterwards Archbishop Brun of Cologne, had Bishop Israel as instructor, one of those Irish who understood Greek. His chief place of residence was St. Maximin at Trèves. The library of Trèves contains Irish manuscripts.

St. Martin of Cologne was considered as an old and important Irish foundation, having been founded in 690 by the Irishman Tilmon. After sundry vicissitudes, Archbishop Brun again raised it. Archbishop Warin once more confirmed it to the Irish, gave it to the Irish Mimborinus as abbot, and renovated a chapel of the Irish saint, Bridget. The Celts maintained themselves in favour until the time of Archbishop Pilligrin, who sought to rid himself of them, evidently with small result, for in the middle of the eleventh century, St. Martin and St. Pantaleon of Cologne flourished exceedingly under the discipline of the austere Abbot Elias. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' were able in the year 1042 to record that Aihill, the chief of Irish monks, expired in Cologne. Marianus Scotus also long resided there. The last national abbot in Cologne is said to have been Alcdalus, who died in 1103. The town yet preserves an ancient Irish bell.

We see that Cologne was a chief resort of the Irish. Thence they seem to have arrived in Saxony, where Charles

the Great had already erected a monastery, Armarbaric, not far from Verden, which Patto the Scot governed. In Paderborn the recluse Paternus was burnt in 1068. Still earlier, in 1057, came Bishop John to Adalbert of Bremen, who sent him to the Wends, of whom he is said to have converted many, till he was slain.

As a second Rhenish town which often saw Irishmen within its walls, we may name Mayence. Here there were two old Irish churches—the Hagenmünster and St. Paul's. Gildas of Bangor in 822 dedicated a work to the learned Rhabanus Maurus. The Irish abbot Beatus of Honau, in 806, presented his convent with a church which he had built in Mayence; and again, Archbishop Arnold of Seelenhofen (1153-1160) spoke of Irish who came to Mayence from the furthest end of the world. Fulda, so rich in books, was of course often sought out by Irishmen. Anmchaidh of Iniscaltra died a recluse there. In Würzburg, Irish manuscripts have been preserved, and there we shall find an Irish cathedral teacher. As bishops of the Irish direction, Arbogast and Florentius are named for Strasburg; the Thomasstift there was an ancient foundation in connection with the Irish.

Ghent also long remained an abode of the Irish; since 682 the Scotchman Colestin had ruled there as abbot. In the year 957, Abbot Columban, a celebrated saint, occupied an enclosed cell in the churchyard.

At St. Remy of Rheims laboured the Irish bishop Duncan in the tenth century, the author of a Commentary upon Martianus Capella. For Burgundy the Irishmen Anatolius and Maimbod are named; the former died a hermit at Salines, the latter is said to have been slain by robbers and interred in Mompilgard. In France, Irishmen are found at St. Denis and Peronne. Fleury-sur-Loire also seems for a long time to have harboured Irish. When Archbishop Conchobar MacConcoille of Armagh, in 1175, died near Chambéry on the return journey from Rome, he became here a local saint, under the name of St. Concord.

On the other hand we see the beginnings of the Austrian establishment Mölk, connected with the Irishman Colman. He was murdered in 1012 at the Danube, and afterwards interred in Mölk. Even far away in Bulgaria, the Emperor Frederic I. on his crusade found a monastery with an Irish abbot.

Moelbrihte, Latinised Marianus Scotus, surpassed all these men. A disciple of the Irish historian Tigernach, he left his island home as a monk in 1056, betook himself through Cologne and Paderborn to Fulda, where he caused himself to be confined in the cell and upon the tomb of a lately dead fellow-countryman. Ten years later, in 1069, Archbishop Siegfried had him brought to Mayence, and here confined anew in the cathedral, where he expired in 1082 or 1083. In his seclusion he occupied himself with serious studies, in the course of which he discovered that Dionysius Exiguus had made an error of about twenty-two years in his computation of time, a result of which he made use in the compilation of a Universal Chronicle. This work is much used, and has obtained several continuations. We also owe to Marianus the preservation of the 'Notitia Imperii' of the Emperor Theodosius.

A second Irish or Scotchman surpassing the multitude in later times is David, a teacher in the cathedral school in Würzburg, who in 1110 accompanied the Emperor Henry V. as chaplain on a journey to Rome, described it in courtly style in three volumes, returned home, and died as Bishop of Bangor. From him springs the celebrated comparison of the taking prisoner of Pope Pascal with the struggle between Jacob and the Angel of the Lord. He also wrote some other works.

For the later Continental Irish, Regensburg became of special importance. Even during its conversion to Christianity literary and educated Irish were to be found in Bavaria; afterwards a colony of Scots, probably from Liège, established themselves there, one member of whom wrote some verses upon the Bishop of Salzburg. From Freising and St.

Emmeran spring Irish books ; from the latter place a beautiful silver shrine. It may possibly be, that also the Emmeranian cover of the gospels dates back to Irish influence.

About 1040 the Irishman Mercherdach arrived at Regensburg from Aix-la-Chapelle ; inhabited there a cell against the convent church at Obermünster, and enjoyed the highest veneration. Far more enduringly worked another, Marianus Scotus, who in 1076 took possession of the monastery of St. Peter in Regensburg, and raised it into the national seat of a Continental Irish community of monks. Marian was himself a learned man : poet, theologian, and caligrapher. His colony earned its livelihood by working on the spot, and by turning their wandering instincts to account outside the monastery, whereby were combined the gathering in of pious gifts and the pursuit of trade. Thus we find the Regensburg brethren in Poland, Gottweih (Austria), Jerusalem, and Kiew. Even the home-country was moved for their support ; for example, King Conor O'Brian. Abbot Christian journeyed to Rome and twice to Ireland. Here the monastery owned priories.

The growth of the colony soon caused the convent of St. Peter to seem too small, so a new one was erected in honour of St. James, whose church, erected about 1184, is one of the most important monuments of Romance architectural skill in Germany. Soon affiliated convents arose in Nürnberg, Constance, Erfurt, Eichstadt, especially in Wurzburg, Memmingen, and Vienna, which gradually reached the holy apostolic number of twelve. By the Lateran Council of 1215 they were bound together as a congregation under the supervision of the Abbot of St. James's. When we consider that all affiliated convent were established from Regensburg, it is clear that the number of monks must have been great. The priories in Ireland evidently served as preparatory seminaries. The twelfth century was the flourishing period of the congregation ; it was at that time honoured by burghers and princes, and stood high in science and art.

What Regensburg was to the east, that Paris became to

the west ; it is true, with a stronger prominence of the Scotch element. In the twelfth century came Richard of St. Victor from Scotland to Paris, a much read and admired mystical author. At the university there, the Scotchman John a Sacro-Bosco distinguished himself by his mathematical and theological works. Simon Taylor also, the reformer of Scottish Church music, studied theology in Paris, where he entered the Dominican order. Michael Scotus, renowned about the middle of the thirteenth century, likewise visited the Parisian university. And here the most eminent scientific Scotchman of the thirteenth century was teacher, the critical, subtle Franciscan, John Scot of Duns. We need not mention other less important men.

The spirit of wandering which led the Irish-Scots to the kingdom of the Franks and to Germany, the religious aspirations which dwelt within them, in course of time caused them to strive after particular centres of pilgrimage, of which Rome and Jerusalem must be considered the most prominent. Of visits to Rome numerous accounts remain ; it was the aim of most capable pilgrims, bishops and kings not excluded. Many stayed there long, and pursued scientific and artistic studies ; others came in order to die on holy ground, as the chieftain Laignen, Douchadh, Brian Borum's son, and others. The distant journey often brought dangers and death. King Sitric of Dublin died on the way in 1029, and his son Olaf was killed by the Anglo-Saxons. An Irishman begged for support from Bishop Franko of Liège (854-901) because he had been plundered on the return journey from Rome ; another lamented that, on account of a complaint in his foot, he could not continue his journey to Rome, and such like. St. Galle, Reichenau, and St. Maurice-en-Valais were looked upon as principal stations on the way. These journeys were specially the fashion from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, when they suggested the following marginal note to an Irishmen : 'Wandering to Rome causes great labour, and is of little use. The Lord, whom thou seekest at home, thou wilt not find there, if thou carry him not with thee.

Great is the folly great the madness, great the insanity, great the frenzy, for the pilgrimage to Rome is a going to death, a conjuring up of the wrath of the Son of Mary.'

The relations with the East also were manifold, far more extensive than our fragmentary tradition would indicate. The lives of the saints point repeatedly in this direction. We are told of Regulus, a pilgrim monk of Constantinople, that he brought the remains of St. Andrew from the far East to Scotland! David, the first bishop of St. David's, St. Theils of Llandaff, St. Cataldus of Lismore, and others, are said to have sojourned in Jerusalem. In the year 577 Winnoch directed a pilgrimage thither. The older '*Vita S. Brendani*' contains a portion written by an Irish pilgrim to the East. The Irish bishop Virgil visited the Holy Land in the eighth century. A geographical writer, Dicuil, was an Irish monk, who had made a journey to Jerusalem with other fellow-countrymen. They proceeded up the Nile as far as the Pyramids, and sailed across the canal which the Emperor Hadrian had made to the Red Sea. Again, in the year 1012, Colman travelled with several companions towards Jerusalem, but was killed on the way. These journeys seem to have reached their height in the ninth century.

Compared to Rome and Jerusalem, Constantinople is far behind, yet in the ninth century we find Irishmen there also, on account of the computation of Easter. These told the Greeks, that at home, on their distant island, every convent indeed possessed a Chrysostom.

The intercourse of the Irish with the world was extremely stirring, and has had manifold effects upon Continental development, but here one must beware of going too far. The Irish for ever remained more or less what they had from the first wished to be: Peregrines, strangers. Of their influence in earlier times in the conversion of the heathen we have already spoken; in later times it assumed a more literary and artistic form. Thus it was of great importance that they were for the most part Irishmen who collected together the considerable and widely-famed libraries of St. Gall and

Bobbio. Closely associated with the collecting of books was the desire for the multiplication of them by copies. In Reichenau, for example, thirty-nine volumes were written under Abbot Erlebold. Unhappily the literary activity of the Irish can be but insufficiently authenticated, because on the one side the German hand soon learnt their writing in their schools, and on the other the Irish themselves as they increased in number conformed more to Continental usages. Yet there are a great number of prominent Irish writings preserved on the Continent. The last products of an Irish character are furnished by the eleventh century in Fulda and Regensburg. Partly directly, but more through Anglo-Saxon transformation, did the Irish style of writing with accompanying miniatures influence the Carlovingian manuscripts, particularly by their characteristic spiral ornamentation. It seems, on the other hand, erroneous to attribute altogether a predominance of Irish influence to the Carlovingian manuscripts. Hence the ribbon scroll has often been deemed specifically Irish, but has also been pronounced Teutonic; the Irish and Teutonic style both originally sprang from the same root. A second and less powerful effect of the Irish took place in the twelfth century, upon the Southern German style of illumination, rising perhaps to some extent from Regensburg. Also in sculpture it made itself felt, though it is true but seldom. We find it upon tombstones in Coire, upon the great northern entrance of St. James's in Regensburg, and on the gateway of the ancient church of St. Peter. The Irish seem again to have exercised a great influence upon the working of metals, in which they were masters; it appears in the celebrated cup of Thassilo at Kremsmünster, in the evangel-cover at St. Emmeran, and in other objects. Even in the beginning of the eleventh century Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim caused Irish vessels to be brought over for imitation. In Norway numerous Irish bronzes have been found, and isolated specimens also on the Continent. The most important among them appear to be the bells, as indeed the great use of bells in divine service is probably derived

from the Irish. How far Irish music has influenced the Continent cannot now be determined ; this must certainly have been the case to some extent. The popes endeavoured to enforce the Roman melodies in the Frankish Church. Rhyme at the end of a verse seems to have early become usual in Ireland, but how far it was thence adopted into Latin and German poetry, or how far other circumstances prevailed, is not yet decided. In the ancient Northern language Irish versification was imitated, and Bartsch has even attempted to establish with probability, that certain forms of verse in the ancient Frankish language are of Irish origin. Irish influence cannot have failed to work also upon the Northern bards and sagas. On the other hand, no indications are found of any such influence upon German speech and poetry.

Into the Merovingian and Carolingian realm the Irish were manifestly the bearers of a higher culture ; but that gradually changed. Gifted Teutonic pupils began to outstrip their teachers ; these withdrew more and more from life, and died out. Though in the ninth and tenth centuries Ireland had supplied honoured teachers, in the twelfth there yet remained as such only David of Wurzburg. The majority of the Irish roamed about, lived in cells or as monks, and this after common Catholic rule. They thus fell into an anomalous position ; on the one hand they were members of the Catholic Church ; and on the other, being strangers in the land, they were eccentrics, who themselves undermined their own sphere of work.

This so much the more as the ‘ Scottish monks,’ no longer receiving and meeting with a spiritual equivalent from the sinking and sunk home-country, slipped into the general deterioration of the monastic system, which took place from the middle of the thirteenth century. Past help, their establishments languished there. St. James’s maintained itself best ; after the place of the Irish there had been supplied by Scots. We find elsewhere vainglory, drunkenness, and dissoluteness. This seems to have been carried on most extravagantly in frivolous Vienna. There the ‘ Scottish monks’ were refractory

towards superiors, while they pursued all kinds of unseemly employments and trafficking, even the amusement of dancing and other pastimes. They came so low that they pawned everything: cups, vestments, even the bells out of the tower; finally, indeed, Jews and Scots came to be similarly regarded as pedlars.

Again, as before in the time of Boniface, there followed a reaction in opinion; instead of favour and honour there came scorn and opposition. At Mayence an Irishman wrote in the margin of his copy of Marianus: 'To-day, O Marian, we prosper, except that the pupils of the monastery of Mauritius gave me a blow on the ear in the convent hall so that I fell with the tablets in the dirt. But I am thankful that I fell not in the dirt of the Franks; pray, however, those who read this that they curse those men.' One distinctly recognises the impotent national hatred of the oppressed.

Be that as it may, it is and remains one of the most singular facts of the Middle Ages, this foreign people in innumerable branches, long centuries on the Continent; teaching and preaching, writing and drawing, roving and shutting themselves up, living in luxury, and rigorously chastising themselves.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS
BY EDWARD I.

AN ESSAY IN EXPLANATION OF THE EXODUS,
A.D. 1290.

By GEORGE HARE LEONARD, M.A., F.R. Hist. S.

IN the year 1290, when King Edward proposed to his Parliament that a fifteenth of all movables should be granted him by clergy and laity alike, and at the same time demanded a tenth of all spiritual revenue, his request was only complied with on the express condition that he would banish the Jews out of the country.¹ The great expulsion, which followed in the autumn of the same year, has always seemed to me an event of a very curious and interesting character, and one deserving a more elaborate explanation than usually falls to its lot. It is quite clear that Parliament dearly wished to be rid of these aliens in race and religion, and, at the same time, the King could not have been altogether unwilling to fall in with the desires of his people, for, considerable as the tax might be, it was quite insufficient to compensate him for the great and permanent source of revenue upon which his forefathers had been wont to rely. The matter is popularly explained on the score of religious bigotry: the people, it is said, are ignorant fanatics, led on by a less ignorant but more fanatical clergy, and the King shares in the fanaticism of his people. This explanation is not untrue, but it is not the whole truth. I am quite sure

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 122, 123.

that the deep-rooted hatred of the Jews in mediæval England was not due to bigotry alone, any more than the feeling against them in Europe to-day is solely due to such a cause.

It is the Jew's wealth, or—to put it more generally—his *success*, that makes so much trouble at the present time.¹ So it was in the Middle Ages. For many centuries now the sons of Jacob have displayed a kind of inherent genius for money-making, and, strenuously though it is denied, too many of them have exhibited a lamentable readiness to bow down and worship the golden calf. For them, perhaps even more than for Christians, the love of money has been a root of every kind of evil. For this, however, they are not, and certainly were not, entirely to blame. The prejudice against their holding land in mediæval times was intensely strong; had they wished it they could not have entered the gilds (the industrial societies of the age), since they were all in a sense religious (i.e. *Christian*) bodies. Undeniably it was difficult for them to live except by this fingering of money. Money was easily transferred in times of danger; it was 'infinite riches in a little room;' money and money alone gave the Jew *power*.

Of course the Jews were not a people wholly given over to money-making. In England, as elsewhere, they were conspicuous for their learning, and led the way in the physical sciences.² It is significant that the great houses which were made into 'halls' at Oxford bore Jewish names. Their libraries were the envy of scholars like Roger Bacon, who 'penetrated to the older world of research' through the Hebrew books of the Rabbis.³ But it is not necessary to imagine that the scholarly Jew was indifferent to the gains which might accrue from lending money. Indeed the very first usurer whose name

¹ See *Appendix*.

² Neubauer, in his *Notes on the Jews in Oxford*, *Collectanea* (p. 287), stands alone amongst scholars in declining to believe in the alleged learning of the early English Jews.

³ Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 245.

has come down to us from mediæval times was the *learned* French Rabbi, Jacob Tam of Rameru. He had been plundered by the Crusaders in 1146, and made it a matter of complaint that he had been 'left no other source of industry by which to support life and to pay the onerous taxes.'¹ He had his excuse, of course, but the plain fact of his usury remains. The truth probably is the Jews were a nation of usurers. It has been thought that when they first settled in England they came as merchants who enormously benefited our feeble native trade. It has been stated that 'they had almost a monopoly of the import trade of the country,'² but I have not been able to find a particle of evidence to support this view. No doubt they were often paid in grain or wool,³ and no doubt they sold what they obtained at a handsome profit, as all middlemen and speculators in the necessities of life had a chance of doing; but though they might prey upon trade, they make no figure in our history as the pioneers of ordinary commerce. The enormous fortunes of which we read, and which simply perplex us with their magnitude, were built up for the most part by usury, and usury was intolerable to Christian men.

This is not the place to discuss the old usury question at any length, but it cannot be too often repeated that the objection to taking interest for money was no mere ecclesiastical prejudice. Indeed, *popular* feeling raged against it so fiercely that the calmer thought of acute-minded Churchmen lagged behind.⁴ There was a general 'moral repugnance' supported, but not built up, by definite Christian teaching.⁵ The early Church had spoken much of the 'monstrous sin' of covetousness, and the duty of work; all the sons of Adam were reminded that it was 'in the sweat of his face' their father had to eat his bread; and the apostolic injunction

¹ Lazarus, *Cent. Mag.* xxv. 604.

² Rye, *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition Papers*, p. 168.

³ Gross, *ibid.* pp. 206, 207.

⁴ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 196; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, p. 239.

⁵ Cunningham, *Usury*, p. 17.

was pressed home, 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.' In a later age the argument had been thrown into philosophical form with surprising ingenuity and elaboration by St. Thomas Aquinas.¹ But it is scarcely likely that the popular mind followed all the subtleties of the theologians ; it *felt* that usury was against the Scriptures. There might be difficulty in explaining the parable of the austere man and his servant, but the plain 'Thou shalt not' of the Old Testament seemed unequivocal. At the same time it was readily caught by the old doctrine of Aristotle,² who insisted that it was essentially *unnatural* that money should be fruitful and multiply. Dante, in his *Hell*, had enforced anew this curious scholastic doctrine of 'the master,' and propped it up with a text out of *Genesis*. The usurer sinned against nature, and art, the child of nature, in disobeying the first plain Bible law.³ Shakspeare marks the popular 'Christian' view still continuing in his own time, when he makes Antonio flout the Jew with his broad wit, and taunt him with his 'breed of *barren* metal ;'⁴ Bacon, quoting a number of quaint objections to 'this *lazy* trade of usury,' reminds his readers of the current saying that it was 'against nature' for money 'to beget money ;'⁵ and when Tennyson in this late day makes one of his shadowy characters hold money to be 'dead,'⁶ he is only echoing the doctrine of the schoolman formulated in ages long ago.

But neither the argument from authority nor from abstract reasoning was needed to intensify the loathing for 'foule usure and lucre of vilanye.' The usurer was abroad ; he went in and out among the people : they could see for themselves that, as a rhymer of a later age put it—

¹ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 152.

² Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 10. 'Of all modes of making money this is the most *unnatural*.'

³ Dante, *Inferno*, cantos xi., xvii.

⁴ Shakspeare, *Merchant of Venice*, act i. sc. iii.

⁵ *Essays*, No. 41. Of Usury.

⁶ *The Brook*. 'Nor could he understand how money breeds,
Thought it a dead thing.'

His wealth he by extortion got,
 He rose by others' fall ;
He had what his hands earned not,
 But poor men pay for all.¹

Flat against the morality of that simple age he climbed up the ladder by pushing others down, and to 'get on in life' in this way was, as Chaucer wrote, and everybody believed—

Hateful to Crist, and to his companye.²

Interest as we know it to-day, the backbone of commerce and industry, was simply non-existent ; it found no place in the mediæval system. Temporary partnerships were the rule in ordinary trade. At least from the time of St. Goderic of Norfolk, probably from the very earliest days, merchants took shares in ventures, and divided the profits or losses proportionately amongst themselves. Industry was carried on for the most part by men who practically needed no 'capital' at all, and the gild-system regarded individual enterprise with disfavour. Landowners were content to get their farms cultivated in the old-fashioned, unprofitable way they had learned from their fathers, and the thought of borrowing for improvements did not occur to them. Under these circumstances the borrowers belonged, broadly speaking, to two classes : those who wanted money for unproductive expenditure, to build a church or castle, to pay tax to Pope or King, or to go crusading ; and the poor who borrowed for some immediate distress. The usurer generally appeared before the world as an oppressor of the poor and needy. The Christian was taught to play the good Samaritan's part, and if he did not give his twopence outright, was at least shamed

¹ This ballad, *The Poor Man Pays for All* (*temp.* Charles I. ?), shows the mediæval feeling lasting on even into the Stuart period.

² Chaucer, *Prioresses Tale*, l. 5.

Ther was in Asie, in a gret citee,
 Amonges cristen folk a Jewerie,
 Sustened by a lord of that countree
 For foule usure, and lucre of vilanie,
 Hateful to Crist, and to his companye.

from receiving it back from his neighbour with usury ; but it was the very business of the Jew to grow rich on the misfortunes of others. It was a business obviously unfriendly and unneighbourly. Everyone could see that the loans of the money-lender did not 'lie in the way of charity, inasmuch as they did not hold out a helping hand to the poor to relieve them, but to deceive them ; not to aid others in their starvation, but to gratify their own covetousness.'¹ Everyone recognised that they lacked the essential grace of charity. 'Hastow pite on pore men that mote nedes þorwe?' asks Repentance of Avarice in the old *Vision of Piers the Plowman*. 'I have as moche pite of pore men,' the usurer replies, 'as pedlere hath of cattes, that wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myghte, for coueitise of here skynnes.'² That was the pity of all usurers, they cared nothing for Christ's poor.

Under these circumstances no faithful Christian dared so sin against God and man as to lend, hoping for something again beyond the principal. Law and custom were at one in commanding that a man should 'neither lend nor borrow by taking nor by giving of excess.'³ Three years' *penance* was the punishment prescribed in the Penitentials of Theodore and Ecghbert for the sin of usury ; while in the so-called laws of Edward the Confessor, the sinner was condemned to forfeiture and outlawry.⁴ But though forbidden by the law of the Church and the law of the land, 'Christians' did not leave usury entirely to the Jews. As early as 1173 we meet with them in the gossiping pages of Jocelyn of Brakelond. He is describing the terrible state of affairs at St. Edmund's when old Abbot Hugh ruled the monastery. Like others of the clergy, he was no business man (*nec bonus nec providus in secularibus exercitiis*), and allowed the affairs of the abbey to go from bad to worse ; his only relief was to take up moneys at interest to keep up the dignity of his house. 'Hence it

¹ Matthew Paris (ann. 1253).

² Langland, *Visions*, Text B. pas. v. l. 246.

³ Shakspeare, *Merchant of Venice*, act i. sc. iii.

⁴ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 195.

came to pass that every official had a seal of his own, and bound himself on debt at his own pleasure to Jews *as well as Christians*. I myself,' he rambles on, 'saw a security passed to William FitzIsabel for 1,040*l*.'¹ FitzIsabel was Sheriff of London in 1194, and he and the other 'Christian' creditors were not more favourable to the abbey, I imagine, than Rabbi Joce, Benedict of Norwich, Jurnet, and the rest of the Jew horse-leeches who were continually crying 'Give! give!' In the thirteenth century England was invaded by a horde of foreign money-lenders. The Caorsini were supposed to come from Cahors in Guienne, a town held up to infamy by Dante as a nest of usurers;² but the name was loosely used, and probably covered all the 'Lombards,' 'Tuscans,' and 'Pope's merchants' who before long had taken up their head-quarters in Lombard Street. 'In these days,' writes Matthew Paris,³ 'prevailed the horrible nuisance of the Caur-sines to such a degree that there was hardly anybody in all England, especially amongst the bishops, who was not caught in their net. . . . They first enticed the needy with plausible and honeyed words, but in the end pierced them through as with a spear;' they bound their debtors 'in inextricable bonds.'⁴ To the dismay of the Church they were supported by the Pope, whose taxes they collected; and upheld by great men, who contrived to find it profitable to entrust them with their money.⁵ The English and foreign money-lenders proved great rivals to the King's Jews. 'His own merchants,' they said, 'by usurious contracts accumulate infinite heaps of money,'⁶ and Grosseteste lamented on his death-bed that the merchants and exchangers of our lord the Pope were worse than the Jews themselves.⁷ Although they professed themselves Christians, Matthew Paris brands them as

¹ *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, edit. Rokewood, pp. 1, 2.

² Dante, *Inferno*, canto xi.

³ Matthew Paris (ann. 1251), speaks of '*Transalpine* usurers whom we call Caur-sines.'

⁴ Matthew Paris, ann. 1235.

⁵ *Ibid.* ann. 1251.

⁶ *Ibid.* ann. 1254.

⁷ *Ibid.* ann. 1253.

heretics and schismatics,¹ just as St. Bernard had done long before, when the nobles and people of France had actually begged the repeal of the law prohibiting usury to the Jews, on the ground that the Jews were more tender-hearted than the Christians who took their place.²

But if the 'Christian' usurer was sometimes worse, the odium of usury fell chiefly on the Jews. The Caursine had to 'cloak his usury under show of trade,' and resort to tricks and subterfuges almost amusing in their ingenuity,³ but the Jew was an open usurer. His own law did not forbid him to take *interest*⁴ of the 'stranger;' his wish inclined him even to take interest of a brother Jew, and in some cases loans on usury were certainly contracted amongst themselves by a legal fiction.⁵ For him alone was usury legalised at the Scaccarium Judæorum, a branch of the great Exchequer. If the rate of interest he demanded was not in some cases so high as the Christian rate, it was at all events extortionate. The Jew, who had no status in the ordinary courts, was so well protected by the Justices of the Jews that no Christian could manage to escape his demands. The security he received was always satisfactory; the landowner pledged his land, the merchant found sureties amongst his friends; the Churchman, scandal though it was, pawned his most sacred treasures.⁶ At Bury St. Edmund's vessels appointed for the service of the altar were pledged to a certain Sancto of the Jewry.⁷ At Peterborough, the Abbot went so far as to hand over the arm of St. Oswald the Martyr to the Jews.⁸ They took advantage of their unique position as capitalists to trade upon the necessities of those who had to borrow.

The regular rate authorised at the Exchequer seems to

¹ Matthew Paris, ann. 1251.

² Philipsen, *The Jew in English Fiction*, p. 28.

³ Matthew Paris, ann. 1235.

⁴ Deuteronomy xxiii. 20. Dr. Hermann Adler very properly will not allow the word 'usury' here (*Nineteenth Century*, iii. 640).

⁵ Davis, *Hebrew Deeds of English Jews*, viii. He also refers to the case of Judas of Bristol, who caused the question to be brought before the *Beth Din*.

⁶ *Chron. Joc.* pp. 1, 2, and n.

⁷ Tovey, p. 14.

⁸ Margoliouth, *The Hebrews in East Anglia*, p. 28.

have been about $43\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., but the nominal interest often differed from the real, and the Jews frequently received double that amount.¹ One would have thought that the elaborate plans devised at Westminster might have been successful in preventing unscrupulous dealings; the Justices of the Jews had their agents wherever they were allowed to settle, and any contract for a sum over 20s. was duly scrutinised, witnessed, and locked up by the cofferers themselves in the local chests.² But the regulations were broken, and 'loans were privily contracted . . . without Christian witnesses . . . whereby Christians sustained great damage and loss.'³ At Oxford, where the undergraduates were very poor, and, often to the detriment of their studies, pawned their books to the Jews, the King was at special pains to prevent oppression. Henry III. insisted that scholars were *never* to pay more than $43\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., but nevertheless 'misunderstandings' were perpetually arising.⁴ It was a commonplace at the Exchequer that Jews were notable forgers of charters, making the orphan pay for debts which the dead father never had incurred.⁵ The tooth of usury bit deep; it 'gnawed the bowels' of the nobles and brought 'most men of the inferior sort' to nothing;⁶ but for this the King was at least as much to blame as the Jews.

Their connection with the Crown could not fail to be very objectionable to the constitutionalists of the day. Through the Jews the King could indirectly tax the people; they served him as a sponge which could be royally squeezed into the King's coffers when it had drained the country dry by usury. The process had been systematised when the Exchequer of the Jews had been established at the close of the twelfth century.⁷ They became the instrument of countless royal exac-

¹ Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenet Kings*, pp. 36, 230. It seems often to have been impossible to borrow at less than a groat for 1l. a week.

² Gross, *The Exchequer of the Jews*, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 170-215.

³ *Chapitres tuchaux le Gyverie*, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 223.

⁴ Lyte, *History of Oxford*, p. 59.

⁵ Hall, *Court Life*, &c. p. 34.

⁶ Pryne, *Demurrer*, pp. 45, 46.

⁷ The employment of the Jews as an engine of taxation was systematised and carried out in England to a far greater extent than on the Continent (Taswell-

tions, and much of the odium which should have attached to the King fell on their shoulders.¹ For instance, when a Jew was unable to pay the tallage, his debts were seized, the chirographs from the local arks were sent to Westminster, and the Christian debtor had to deal with the Crown.² Over and over again complaints were now made of the injustice and cruelty of the King's demands. Henry III. was as bad as any Jew. 'Dry with avaricious thirst,' the monkish chronicler tells us, 'he laid aside all mercy and seemed to extort the uttermost farthing, clearing the arks for his own purposes.'³ And worse still, when he pillaged the people by means of the Jews, the great men of the land followed his example.⁴ Shrewd nobles managed to get possession of estates which had been mortgaged to the money-lenders, without giving the mortgagor due time for repayment. To lose land in feudal times was a far more serious affair than it would be to-day, and many a small proprietor cursed the Jew who enabled his powerful neighbour to add field to field at his expense. Roger of Berkeley was glad enough to pay a certain sum of money into the Exchequer, in order that the King might insist that the Jews of Bristol and Gloucestershire should leave him in possession, and allow him to clear his debt by annual payments.⁵ In 1257 the Barons complained to Henry III. that the lands of wards pledged to the Jews came into the hands of covetous men (*magnates et potentiores regni*), who would not give them up even when full payment of the debts was offered.⁶ It was a grievance which lasted the century through. The clauses of Magna Carta which dealt with the question of debt were really as much to protect the people against the

Langmead, *Const. Hist.* p. 138). Some idea of the amount of money that thus came to the King can be seen in Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. p. 530. He adds: 'The enormous sums raised by way of fine and amercement show how largely they must have engrossed the available capital of the country.'

¹ In the same way the 'Pope's merchants' bore the unpopularity of their master.

² Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 197-201.

³ Matthew Paris, ann. 1250.

⁴ Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 208-210.

⁵ Hunt, *Bristol*, p. 29.

⁶ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 385.

King and the great men, as the Jews. In 1244 the demand of the Barons to appoint one of the Justices of the Jews for themselves is full of significance,¹ and in later days it was the talk and scandal of the country that 'the Queen went on from day to day acquiring possession of the manors and lands of the nobles, which the Jews by the *whirlpool* of their usuries, *with the assistance of the King's courts*, extorted from the Christians ('*quæ Judæi mediante voragine usurarum patrocinate curia regia a Christicolis extorserunt*'²). The hatred of the baronial party towards the Jews may have been partly the fruit of bigotry and partly because they supplied the King with the sinews of war; but when they destroyed the seal of the Jewish Exchequer, and the arks in which the offending chirographs were kept,³ it is plain that the Jews suffered as tools of the King.

Jewry after Jewry was sacked in the Barons' war, and their inhabitants put to the sword, but it was not often that the Jews in England suffered from popular violence. If they were 'always the King's good friends,'⁴ he in his turn was a good friend and protector to the Jews. It is quite a mistake to suppose that they were always 'cringing cowards' who bore everything with the 'patient shrug.' Like their brethren in modern Russia,⁵ they often wore the 'cloak of pride and braggadocio,' and scoffed at the Christians amongst whom they were set. In ordinary times the 'exasperating multitude' (*exasperans multitudo*) lived boldly (*confidenter*) in their strong castles;⁶ and the populace often deeply provoked dared not forget the King's command, that 'no one under peril of life and members should damage, molest, or aggrieve the Jews, their

¹ Matthew Paris, ann. 1244.

² *Epistolæ Joh. Peckham*, edit. Martin, iii. p. 937.

³ Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 210.

⁴ Kitchin, *Winchester*, p. 131.

⁵ Cunningham, *Usury*, p. 48 n. One of the definite demands of the people of Pereyaslav was that the Jews should be forbidden 'to abuse the Christian burgesses, and in general to scoff at them' (Consular Reports, 1882).

⁶ Matthew of Westminster, ann. 1290.

lands, property, houses, possessions, and goods.’¹ Benedict and Jocus at York had built houses ‘which might be compared with royal palaces, and lived in abundance and luxury almost regal, like two princes of their own people and tyrants to the Christians, *exercising cruel tyranny* towards those whom they oppressed by usury. . . . They were beyond measure stiff-necked and perverse towards Christians.’² Suffolk Jews dunned so great a man as the Abbot of Bury without mercy. ‘At that time,’ writes Jocelyn, ‘wheresoever the Abbot went there came about him Jews as well as Christians demanding debts, and worrying and importuning him (*turbantes et anxiantes eum*) so that he could not sleep, and thereupon he became pale and thin and was constantly repeating, “My heart will never rest till I know myself to be out of debt.”’³ There was not much ‘whispered humbleness’ in the amazing petition of 1270 in which they asked for liberty to have the custody of Christian heirs and the advowson of Christian livings,⁴ nor much suavity in their general intercourse with Christians. In 1279 a serving-man going down from Broad Street to the Jewry was set upon by Jews, flung in the mud, and so injured that he died.⁵ Their usuries, their frauds, their grinding tyranny, their merciless bullying,⁶ might alone account for that cry of the people that could only be satisfied by their expulsion from the land. But they do not stand alone.

It is broadly true to say that from the very first there was a growing, deepening hostility to the Jews on religious, or semi-religious grounds. Not by any means that they were always without Christian friends; at times, no doubt, they met at feasts, or very agreeably broke the forest law together, as the doe-chasing story from Colchester shows.⁷ Marriages,

¹ The bailiffs and good men of Cambridge were ordered to make this proclamation throughout the town (Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 1266).

² William of Newborough, iv. 1.

³ *Chron. Joc.* p. 23.

⁴ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 34. The scandal was only prevented by the vigorous opposition of the Franciscans.

⁵ Riley, *Memorials*, p. 15.

⁶ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 156.

⁷ Forest Roll of Essex, 5 Edw. I., Record Office, Colchester (quoted in the

or less satisfactory unions between Jews and Christians, were certainly not unknown. As late as 1286 we find them companions in crime, when the astounding charge was made against Isaac, chaplain to the Norwich Jews, and others, both *Jews and Christians*, of breaking into churches in Norfolk.¹ At Bury St. Edmunds a quondam sacrist of the monastery was so much their friend that he allowed them to go out and come in as they pleased, and safely housed their wives and children in the pitancery in times of tumult. To the horror of the other brethren they were even permitted to wander about the altars, and the gorgeous shrine of St. Edmund itself while mass was being celebrated.² Even King John alludes to the chief Rabbi as 'our well-beloved and familiar friend.'³ In the earlier part of his reign, Winchester, according to Richard of Devizes, was the Jerusalem of England for the Jews, where they enjoyed perpetual peace. In 1268 the Mayor, Simon le Draper, by letters patent under the common seal of the city, admitted '*our faithful friend and special neighbour* Benedict the Jew, son of Abraham, into full membership of the liberty of the city, and citizenship, and gild-rights in the Merchant Gild, with all the privileges pertaining to the same liberty';⁴ as far as I know a unique act of toleration in our early history. Even in those evil days of Henry III., when, to use the vigorous language of Matthew Paris, the King not only scraped their skin, but tore out their very bowels⁵ (*eviscerando*), the Christians pitied them and wept over their afflictions, and the

A.-J.H.E.P. Catalogue, No. 14), to wit:—'. . . it was brought forward that a certain doe was started in Wildenhaye Wood by the dogs of Sir John de Burgh, sen., which doe in her flight came by the top of the City of Colchester, crossing towards another wood on the other side of that city. And there issued forth Saunte son of Ursel, Jew, of Colchester, Cok son of Aaron, and Samuel son of the same, Isaac the Jewish chaplain, Copin and Elias, Jews, and certain Christians of the said city, to wit: William Scott, Henry the Gutter, Henry the Toller, and others. And these with a mighty clamour chased the same doe through the south gate into the aforesaid city, and they so worried her by their shouting that they forced her to jump over a wall, and she thus break her neck,' &c. (Dec. 7, 1267)

¹ Rye, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 167.

³ Adler, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 268.

⁵ Matthew Paris, ann. 1250.

² *Chron. Joc.* p. 8.

⁴ Kitchen, *Winchester*, p. 108.

Friars, so often their bitter foes, begged the lives of a miserable company condemned to death for their share in the Lincoln tragedy,¹ a deed of charity which so little commended itself to the lower classes of the people that they withheld their alms. They fancied the Jews must have bribed the good brethren, but 'I think,' adds the chronicler, 'we ought to consider they were influenced by the spirit of piety.'²

But these are exceptional cases. The very first references to the Jews in our records show Christian feeling against them already. In the code of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church of the seventh century was warned against association with the unbelievers;³ and again in 740, when Ecghbert, Archbishop of York, published his laws for the use of the English Church, collected possibly, like the earlier code, without much discrimination 'out of the sayings and canons of the Holy Fathers,' amongst the rest, he included one which forbade Christians to Judaize, or be present at Jewish feasts.⁴ Even if we agree with those who hold that these isolated references must not be taken as a proof of the existence of Jews in England in Saxon times, at least they show a prejudice awaiting their arrival. No one doubts, however, that there was a considerable immigration of the Hebrews in the early Norman period, and the Conqueror is credited with having induced numbers of wealthy capitalists to leave the 'Juifverie' at Rouen, and settle in England 'for financial purposes.'⁵ No Jew might come to London until he showed proof that he could pay his share of the tallage.⁶ As in Normandy, so here they were to be kept aloof from the Christian population, but the English Jewries occupied the finest sites in our cities and towns. In London the Jewish

¹ See below, p. 120.

² Matthew Paris, ann. 1256.

³ *Liber Pœnitentialis* of 669, quoted by Neubauer.

⁴ Johnson, *Collection of Laws and Canons*, i. 218.

⁵ Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, v. p. 818) is of opinion that there is no distinct mention of the Jews in England before the time of William II. 'The Norman Conquest,' he says, 'may or may not have brought the first Jew into England; it is certain it gave a great impetus to their coming.'

⁶ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 44.

quarter was close upon the West Cheape, the great market of the capital ; in York it was near the Guildhall ; in Bristol by the Quay.¹ Foul and squalid though they might be, few other parts of a town could boast of houses built entirely of stone in those early days. Some of them were palatial mansions that nobles envied, and were glad enough to buy of the Hebrews when they could,² and probably all had the first advantage of stone—strength. The Jew's house was his castle. Moyses' Hall, which still stands on the market-place at Bury St. Edmunds, significantly enough had no window at all in the ground floor,³ and Bellaset's house at Lincoln looks as if it were designed to stand a siege. When the Cambridge people wanted a gaol, Henry III. found an entirely suitable building for the purpose in the house of Benjamin the Jew, by the market-place, which he accordingly handed over to the bailiffs ;⁴ and it is interesting to notice that Moyses' Hall at Bury is in use as a police station at the present time. When the London mob attacked the houses of the Jews in 1189 they were quite unable to break through and steal, and had to content themselves with firing the roofs.⁵

The clergy can never have eyed the Jewry with favour, and their active animosity to its inmates must have been fairly aroused when William II. began his lamentable reign. The King, 'who trampled on the Church,' delighted in shocking his unfortunate bishops. He promoted unseemly debates between great ecclesiastical dignitaries and the champions of Israel, swearing by the holy face of Lucca⁶ that he would turn Jew himself if the Rabbis got the better of the argument.⁷ Nor were matters mended when he allowed the Jews to farm the sees and livings he kept vacant in his impiety, and manage the negotiations when the time at last came to *sell* them to the clergy. In Henry I.'s time it was necessary for Joffred,

¹ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 36, 37.

² *Ibid.* pp. 30, 31.

³ Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, i. 46 ; see also i. p. xxiii.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 1224.

⁵ William of Newborough, iv. c. i.

⁶ The handkerchief of St. Veronica was preserved at Lucca.

⁷ Pryne, *Demurrer*, p. 4.

Abbot of Croyland, to send Brother Elsin, 'a man of excellent wit and profoundly learned,' to strengthen the Christian faith against the Jewish depravity at Stamford, while others were told off 'to preach down Judaism at Cottenham and Cambridge.'¹ For the Jews had neither the good taste nor the good sense to refrain from scoffing at the faith of the Christians. For instance, at a time when the miracles of St. Frideswide were held in reverence by pilgrims who came to Oxford from all parts of England to be healed at her shrine, their credulity excited the open derision of Deus-eum-Crescat, Mossey's son, who, standing before his door, would crook his fingers like one with the palsy, and then bend them suddenly straight; or would make believe to halt like a cripple, and then leap like a hart, bidding the pious passers-by marvel how soon he was recovered.² No power, civil or ecclesiastical, seems to have interfered with Dieulecresse, but it was said, *and the clergy took care that the story should be circulated*, that St. Frideswide herself had avenged the insult; for the Jew ran mad, and hanged himself with his girdle in his father's kitchen; while, strange to say, when his body was being carried off for burial in London, according to the cruel necessity of the law, 'all the dogs of the town followed his detestable corpse, yelping in the most frightful manner.'³ The friction between Jew and Gentile was steadily increasing when, in Stephen's reign, the Christian community was profoundly stirred by the first of those strange stories of the crucifixion of a Christian child by the Jews, which even to-day find credence in ignorant minds.⁴ Little 'Saint' William heads

¹ Peck, *Stamford*, pp. 17, 18.

² Freeman, *Oxford*, p. 24.

³ Philip, Prior, *Hist. St. Frid.*, quoted in Tovey, p. 9.

⁴ Lazarus, *Century Magazine*, xxiv. 55; and Lanin, *Fortnightly Review*. The *Novoye Vremya*, the most extensively circulated newspaper in Russia, still countenances the fable of the periodical murder of a Christian child for ceremonial purposes. At the time of the anti-Jewish disturbances a decade ago, nine Jews were brought up for trial in the Caucasus on a charge of killing a child to procure his blood for the Passover rites (March 1879) and in connection with the present agitation, the story has been made to do duty again. The alleged excuse for the uproar in Corfu about Easter-time (1891), was the murder of a Christian girl by the Jews. The charge won wide and immediate acceptance.

the English list, cruelly done to death, it was said, by the Jews of Norwich, on Easter Day, in contempt of Christ and His passion.¹ A few years later a boy was crucified at Gloucester,² and in Jocelyn's time the 'holy child Robert' was martyred, and ostentatiously buried in the church at Bury St. Edmunds, where miracles soon began to be worked at his tomb as a matter of course (*et fiebant prodigia et signa multa in plebe sicut alibi scripsimus*).³ Nor do these horrors stand alone; there was a morbid wish for new martyr stories, and a supply was created to meet the demand. Each fresh case, we may well believe, lost nothing in the telling, and the excitement was maintained by the rumour that the Jews wanted Christian blood for their Passover rites, to bake in unleavened bread, to make love-potions or raise devils!⁴

So excited was popular feeling that a very little evidence went a very long way, and the cases where juries were honest enough to acquit innocent men charged with monstrous crime are worthy of being remembered. When 'Yongë Hew of Lincolne' was enticed away by 'cursed' Jews in 1253⁵ and, as the story ran, fattened with white bread and milk until the Jews from all parts of England could be got together to take part in his crucifixion, and when his mother found his little body at last in a well, gaping with wounds, all England rang with the dreadful story. One Copin, a Jew, threatened with instant death and mutilation, had confessed a real or pretended share in the crime in the hope of pardon. It was in vain that Gregory IX. had declared in 1236 the Jews were not guilty of these crimes; everyone believed

¹ There seems reason to think that he was the first boy-martyr to the Jews, not only in England, but in Europe also. See Baring-Gould, 'Some Accusations against the Jews,' in *Historic Oddities and Strange Events*, 2nd series.

² Rye, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 138-140.

³ *Chron. Joc.* p. 12. How one wishes that the *Book of St. Robert* which that mediæval Boswell tells us he wrote had come down to our day, that we might see for ourselves what he really thought of the story! A *Vita Roberti Martyris* is mentioned by Bale as Jocelyn's work, but no copy is known to exist.

⁴ Margoliouth, *History of the Jews in Great Britain*, p. 66.

⁵ See Chaucer's reference to this 'notable' case in the *Prioresses Tale*, l. 231.

the Jew rather than the Pope. Nothing would satisfy the King but that Copin should die after all, and tied to a horse's tail, he was dragged to the gallows and delivered over, body and soul, to the evil spirits of the air ; while later on, eighteen of the *richer* and higher sort of Jews of the city were hanged together, and many others shut up in the Tower.¹ The tragedy of Lincoln was laid hold of by the ballad-makers and done into verse of fascinating beauty. The song was sung to eager listeners in English, Scotch, and Norman-French,² and if in the last century the acting of *Shylock* so wrought upon the passions of the people that it was necessary to play *Nathan the Wise* immediately after, lest some mischief should come to the Jews,³ one can perhaps imagine the effect of these ballads on a no less excitable people in a ruder age. No story was too improbable to be believed. Chaucer exactly represented the popular opinion when he wrote of—

Our firste fo, the serpent Sathanas,
That hath in Jewes herte his waspes nest.⁴

The crimes of which Barabbas is made to boast in the *Jew of Malta*⁵ had all their counterparts in popular belief. Their supposed desire to proselytise made the charge of circumcising kidnapped Christian children⁶ as likely as the similar charge of stealing away Jewish boys who had been converted to the Christian faith.⁷ Their contempt for the beliefs of their neighbours won ready credence for the coarsest actions which it is unnecessary even to indicate in

¹ Matthew Paris, ann. 1255.

² See the very interesting and moving ballads collected by the French antiquary Michel, in *Hugues de Lincoln, recueil de ballades Anglo-Normandes et Ecossoises relatives au meurtre de cet enfant commis par les juifs MCCLV*.

³ Rabbi Philipsen, *The Jew in English Fiction*.

⁴ Chaucer, *Prioresses Tale*.

⁵ Marlowe, act ii. sc. iii.

⁶ Rye, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 153.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 157. Neubauer notes the charge at Oxford of stealing back a baptized convert, and quotes Wood (*Annals*) for their crime of enticing young scholars and children to be of their faith (*Collectanea*, p. 285).

this place, while their notorious skill in medicine laid them open to the charges of magic and poisoning.¹

It was immediately after the scandal at Bury that the Assize of Arms insisted that a Jew possessing a coat of mail or hauberk should sell it or *give it away*; a provision cruel enough when the massacres that almost immediately followed are called to mind. It was time for a new venture in the East, and the preaching of a crusade seemed always the occasion for an outburst against the Jews. When Richard I. came to the throne the crusading fever had reached its height. Despite the strenuous efforts of St. Bernard,² the popular doctrine was only too readily believed, which taught that God was well served when the money of the infidels at home was used to defeat those who were certainly no worse abroad.³ Even the Saracens taunted the Franks with 'little love to our Lord Jesus Christ, who tolerated the murderers of Him to live amongst us.'⁴ In France a crossed man who owed them money was forgiven his debt by law. In other places the Crusaders took the law into their own hands.

The first great massacre of the Jews in England dates from the beginning of the reign of our first crusading king. Archbishop Baldwin had recommended that no Jew should be present at the Coronation ceremonies⁵ for fear of witchcraft. But the ill-advised Jews, anxious to see the sights, hung about the palace doors, and at last crowded, or were crowded, into the forbidden precincts. The moment they were observed they were fiercely driven back by Christian

¹ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 39, 51. The first reference to the London Jews refers to a fine of 2,000*l.* for killing a sick man. In 1259 it was reported that Elias the High Priest had prepared poisons for the English nobles, &c.

² Milman, *Latin Christianity*, iv. 396. St. Bernard, who inflamed the Crusaders by assuring them that the slaughter of the unbeliever in the East was a sure passport to Heaven, attempted to stem the furious tide which turned against the unbelievers at home, maintaining that, since 'God had punished the Jews by their dispersion, it was not for man to punish them by murder.'

³ Will. of Newb. IV. c. vii.

⁴ Prynn, *Demurrer*, p. 27.

⁵ Adler, *Nineteenth Century*, x. 824.

fists, and as the fury grew, more savagely pursued with sticks and stones. In the crush some were trampled to death. Amongst the rest were two Jews of York, Jocus and Benedict, who, according to custom, had brought propitiatory presents to the new King from the great northern Jewry. Jocus made off, but Benedict, who could not run so fast, was caught, and to save his life, allowed himself to be hurried into a church to be baptized. 'In the meantime'—I am quoting from William of Newborough—'an *agreeable rumour* that the King had ordered all the Jews to be exterminated pervaded the whole of London with incredible rapidity.' The Jewish houses were soon in flames, and those who sought to escape found the Christian swords as cruel as the fire.

This confidence of the Christians against *the enemies of the Cross* was 'a new thing,'¹ but the example of London was quickly followed in the provinces. A religious question gave the necessary excuse at King's Lynn; at Norwich and Bury the lately martyred boys were not forgotten; at Stamford a number of young men just starting for Palestine began the affray. But the most pitiful and instructive story comes from York. Here certain persons of high rank who owed the Jews large sums of money, and were now in the greatest difficulties, incited the ready mob against their creditors. Late one night when no small part of the city was set ablaze, men armed with iron tools broke into the palace-house which Benedict had owned—that luckless Jew who by this time had died of the hurts he had received in the London riot, but not before he had found time to renounce his forced conversion in honourable fashion. His widow and family were brutally murdered, and his wealth, which ought properly to have escheated to the King, was carried off to a secret place. Jocus and the rest of the Jews found shelter from the storm in the castle. For days they withstood the onset of the Christians, whose zeal was inflamed by many of the clergy, one of whom, a hermit of the Praemonstratensian order, having

¹ Will. of Newb. IV. c. i.

fortified himself each morning with the consecrated wafer, was conspicuous all day long in his white frock, shouting down the 'enemies of Christ.'

The account of the appalling tragedy which followed, left us by William of Newborough, is too dramatic to be altogether trustworthy. He gives us *in extenso* the speech in which a 'most cursed old man'¹ urged upon his trembling fellows the expediency of general suicide. He shows us Joceus with a very sharp blade, first cutting the throat of Anna, his dearly loved wife, and devoting his children to slaughter. The miserable minority, 'to whom the discourse seemed hard,' hoped to save their lives by professing a discreditable eagerness for baptism. The horror of the events of the night moved some to pity, but they were overruled by others who would hear of nothing but a baptism of blood. The thorough party was led by one Richard Malbys (or *Mala Bestia* as some would have it), and the reason of his fury has come to light in these late days. There is a charter extant which proves that Richard de Malebis had been, and indeed still was, greatly in debt to Aaron the Jew, whose agent had named a settling day. The Hebrew Shtar runs thus: 'I have received 4*l.* from Richard the Evil Beast. *This is from his large debt.*—SOLOMON OF PARIS.'² The burning of every scrap of evidence of similar indebtedness that could be found, right in the middle of the minster brought the tragic episode to its logical conclusion.³ 'Approximate justice will strive to accomplish itself,' is the comment of Thomas Carlyle. Callous as the criticism sounds, we are bound to remember the special declaration of the

¹ This was Rabbi Jomtob ben Isaac of Joigny in France (Adler, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 258.)

² Davis, *Hebrew Deeds*, &c., p. 288. The editor notes that in the Pentateuch lesson, proper for the current week, the words occur: 'Some *evil beast* hath devoured him.'

³ Public records, however, show that this fearful butchery did not result in the utter extermination of the York Jews. Some few must have escaped, and some of the charters held in pledge were certainly saved from destruction (Davies, 'Mediæval Jews of York,' in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*).

chronicler, that the usury of the Jews of York had spread far and wide.¹

The Crusaders, who had taken part in the dreadful business, took care to start on their pious errand before any inquiry could be set on foot ; but so notorious was their hatred to the Jews that in the writs by which Henry III. insured their safety, the hostility of those who went crusading had to be specially guarded against.² So violent had popular feeling become in the thirteenth century that it was necessary to restrict the Jews to a few specified towns, where peculiar arrangements might be made for their safety.³

The coming of the Friars brought about a renewal of spiritual zeal, but in no way lessened the ill-will shown to the Jews. The Franciscan with his gospel of poverty, and love of the poor, was singularly unlike the Jew with his moneys and usances, and his open contempt for the rabble, whom he had yet sometimes so much cause to fear. But the Friars were not without their message to the outcasts of Israel, and the new endeavours after their conversion which now began, were acknowledged and seconded from the throne.⁴ In earlier times the English kings had set their faces against proselytising. William II., bribed by angry fathers, had even tried to force Jews who had embraced Christianity back again into Judaism.⁵ The case of the young ruler in the gospel⁶ was so conveniently pressed to serve the King's purpose, that it became the custom for the property of the catechumen to escheat to the King immediately upon his conversion. Henry III. did not

¹ Will. Newb. IV. cc. ix.-xi. See also the judicious comments on his narrative in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, iii.

² Tovey, *Ang. Jud.* p. 77.

³ Gross, *A.-J. H. E. P.* p. 190.

⁴ Of course a certain amount of proselytising work had been carried on by the Monks before this time, and Jews who professed the Christian faith were sometimes supported in the monasteries. Robert Fitz Hardinge, for instance, Reeve of Bristol, had founded the Checquer Hall School in Wine Street (*temp.* Stephen or Henry II.), where Jews might be instructed in the Christian faith (Hunt, *Bristol*, p. 28) ; but the Friars-Preachers gave a new impetus to this mission.

⁵ Prynne, *Demurrer*, p. 4.

⁶ S. Luke, c. xviii., vv. 18-24.

give up this outrageous claim as Edward I. did at a later date, but he established the House of Converts in New Street, in which they could be received and suitably provided for. At Oxford, where the Dominicans settled in the very heart of the Jewry, many Jews were baptized as the result of their teaching, and found shelter no doubt in the Oxford Domus Conversorum in Fish Street.¹ It is very interesting to note that at this time (1242) the 'great clerk' Grosseteste, with the help of Master Nicholaus, a Greek attached to the Abbey of St. Albans, translated 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' out of *Greek* into Latin, 'to the strengthening of the Christian faith, and to the greater confusion of the Jews.' He indulged the hope that this famous forgery, the genuineness of which, however, he never doubted, would be irresistibly convincing, even to a perverse and stiff-necked generation.²

The vigorous attempt of the Friars upon the beliefs of the Jews was only part of the great movement of the age against heresy. The fourth Lateran Council was called in 1215 to discuss the policy to be pursued by the Church against Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, as well as Jews. Amongst other things it ordained that Jews and Saracens should wear some distinct badge or dress, lest, it was explained, there should be an unholy union between those whom God had put asunder. The English Jews were commanded by royal and ecclesiastical authority, to mark themselves off from the Christian population, by some tag of parchment, or linen, fastened to their clothes. Archbishop Langton would have them build no more synagogues, but pay tithes and offerings in the parish to which they belonged, yet they were not to enter any church, and, what is far more extraordinary, it was necessary to insist that they should not lodge their goods there.³ The outcome of the Oxford Council, where these questions were handled, was the burning of a deacon who had turned Jew for the love of a Jewess.⁴ In the dioceses of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Norwich

¹ Lyte, *Hist. Oxford*, p. 26.

² Sinker, *Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum*, Intro. p. 1.

³ Tovey's *Angl. Jud.* p. 82.

⁴ Maitland, *Law Quarterly Review*, iii. 153.

the Jews were next boycotted after the fashion of modern times. No Christian might sell them any provision under pain of excommunication, and the Jews would have starved, as the poor heretic Gerhard had done with his thirty followers in 1166,¹ had not the King at once commanded all men to sell them what they wanted under pain of imprisonment, any spiritual prohibition notwithstanding.

The work of Langton was continued by Boniface of Savoy, made Archbishop in 1245. No Christian woman was now permitted to act as nurse or be employed in the house of a Jew, 'it being contrary to reason that the sons of the free woman should serve the sons of the bond,' and for other reasons sufficiently obvious at the time.² In 1251 they were forbidden to eat meat on Fridays, or in Lent.³ They were commanded to pray in a low voice; indeed, their howling (*nlulatio*) at prayer so disturbed the Sackcloth Friars, 'as they made the Body of Christ' next door to the chief synagogue in London, that the King took the splendid building from the Jews in 1272 and handed it over to their covetous neighbours.⁴ This was by no means the only synagogue which the Church managed to acquire for its own purposes. In 1283 Archbishop Peckham went so far as to forbid any synagogue to be opened or publicly used in his diocese, and desired the Dean of Rochester to proceed against those Jews who had been baptized, and yet, to use his own strong Scriptural phrase, 'had returned to their vomit.'⁵ It was impossible to force a Jew to become a Christian, but he held that it was the duty of a king to forbid the perversion of a convert.

¹ Rapin, *History of England*, p. 233. In 1166 one Gerhard and thirty of his followers came into England from Germany. They were summoned before a council at Oxford, condemned for heresy, and delivered over to the secular power. In this instance it was the King who forbade all his subjects to give them any relief, and being punctually obeyed, they all perished miserably of hunger.

² *Chapitres Tuchaunz le Gyverie*, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 220. Compare also the Jews' treatment of Christian girls in their service in modern Russia (Cunningham, *Usury*, p. 48 n).

³ Matthew Paris, ann. 1251.

⁴ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 27.

⁵ *Epist. Joh. Peckham*, i. 239.

Edward himself was largely influenced by the popular feeling of the age. From his earliest years he was taught to look upon the Jews with repugnance. His mother, Eleanor of Provence, was their 'steady enemy,' as her uncle Boniface had been before her; his own uncle and tutor, Simon de Montfort, was as relentless to the Jews as his father had been to the Albigensian heretics at an earlier date. Edward was in Oxford on the famous Ascension Day in 1268, when a Jew stopped the long procession wending its way to St. Frideswide's, where the annual sermon was to be preached, tore the rood from its astonished bearer, and trampled it under foot in the presence of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University and all the Parochial Clergy. It was Edward who posted off the news of the outrage to the King at Woodstock.¹ He took part in the last crusade with St. Louis of France in 1270, and shared with him the old Crusader's hatred of the infidels at home. It was St. Louis who held that a layman who heard the Christian faith ill spoken of by a Jew should run him through the body, and waste no time on arguments.² The English Jews were made to contribute 6,000 marks to help our later Cœur de Lion win back for Christendom their own lost land. Edward was still in the East when he was called to fill the English throne. If Henry had chastised his Hebrew subjects with whips in passive piety, Edward was prepared to chastise them with scorpions, as became an ardent Crusader. The year of his return was marked by a fresh outburst of energy on the part of the Church, when Gregory X. attacked the sin of usury in the Council of Lyons, and the King, 'led on by the love of God, and wishing to follow more devoutly in the path of the Holy Church (*e nos pur lamor de deu*

¹ Lyte, *Hist. Oxford*, p. 67.

² Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, c. x. §. 53. 'Aussi, vous di-je, fist li roys, que nulz, se il n'est très-bons clers, ne doit desputer à aus; mais li hom lays, quant il ot mesdire de la loy crestienne, ne doit pas desfendre la loy crestienne, ne mais de l'espée, de quoy il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y puet entrer.' It is fair to the good King, however, to add that he did try to persuade the Jews with sweet reasonableness as well as brute force, insomuch that he was blamed in England for his toleration. Many are said to have been converted by his mildness, and these he attached to himself by many benefits.

*amenes e les traces de seinte esglise plus devotement aerdaunz eyums*¹) ordained in his first parliament that no Jew hereafter should in any way practise usury.² From that time they ceased to have any *locus standi* in the country ; the Statute of Judaism³ shadowed forth the expulsion that was to come fifteen years later on. When in the case of non-payment of taxes, the new King while yet abroad, had changed the penalty of imprisonment for *perpetual banishment*, and made the defaulting Jew remove with his wife and children to Dover within three days for transportation,⁴ he had shown he could afford no room in England for unprofitable Jews, and so long as usury was disallowed, the Jews were almost bound to be unprofitable.

From this time their position worsened from year to year. Even women and children were obliged to don the offensive badge of saffron-coloured⁵ taffety, shaped like the tables of the law (*en fourme de deus tables joyntes*), as we may still see in that curious caricature of Aaron, 'son of the devil,' scribbled by some idle clerk on the Forest Roll of Essex long ago in 1277, and now preserved in the Record Office.⁶ They were warned under peril of life and limb to avoid any blasphemous utterance against Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the Holy Sacraments.⁷ They were forced to sermons, 'and a moving sight in truth, this, of so many of the besotted, blind, restif, and ready-to-perish Hebrews! now maternally brought—nay (for He saith, "Compel them to come in") haled, as it were, by the head and hair, and against their obstinate hearts, to partake of the heavenly grace.'⁸ Edward was thoroughly in earnest : these sermons, to which they had

¹ *Chapitres tuchaunz le Gywerie, A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 220.

² Prynne, *Demurrer*, pp. 36, 37.

³ Printed in Blunt's *Tracts relative to the Jews*, p. 139.

⁴ Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 198.

⁵ The statute *De la Jeuerie*, quoted in Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 529 n. Possibly yellow was considered a more obnoxious colour than white (see *ante*, p. 125). In some parts of Europe the yellow cap was the mark of a Jew, the 'orange-tawny bonnet' of which Bacon speaks.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1887, No. 14.

⁷ Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 208.

⁸ See Browning, *Holy Cross Day*.

to listen without blasphemy or contention, may have been a 'bad business,' but he honestly hoped the discourses of the Dominicans—those hounds of the Lord (*Domini canes*)—might be blessed to their conversion. For seven years he waived all claims to the estates of converts.¹ For seven years he handed over the annual poll-tax,² and every forfeiture that came to him from a Jewish source, for the sake of those who had been compelled to give up so much to follow Christ.³

But the Jews as a body would not see the error of their ways, and the few converts brought into the fold were not wholly satisfactory. In 1275 Nicholas, an inmate of the House of Converts, was found taking usury again as of old,⁴ and the King was obliged to take notice of those Jews and Jewesses⁵ who slipped back into Judaism.⁶

The religious feeling of the day evidently influenced the King as it influenced his people, but in neither case can it be considered paramount.⁷ The politicians of the day pressed the constitutional grievance⁸ and demanded the expulsion as a few years later they demanded the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. Rich and poor alike urged the economic question, and would have them banished, as almost a century later they prayed for the banishment of the Lombard usurers;⁹ and quite apart

¹ Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 215. The convert was to deliver the half of his goods to his poorer brethren in the *Domus Conversorum*; the other half he might keep for his own.

² Edward I. demanded 3*d.* (or 4*d.*) a head *from all* Jews over twelve. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 529.

³ Prynne, *Demurrer*. The *deodands* were also promised on two separate occasions.

⁴ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 41.

⁵ *Epist. Joh. Peckham*, i. 239.

⁶ *Chapitres tuchauxz le Gywerie*, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 220: 'De turnes a la fey crestiene e apres turne a lay de gyv.' The date of this statute is unknown, but it evidently falls within the years 1276–1290.

⁷ 'The better sense of the country coincided with the religious prejudice in urging their banishment.'—Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. p. 530.

⁸ Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 208.

⁹ In 1376 the citizens of London demanded the expulsion of the Lombards, 'whose ostensible calling rendered them most liable to the suspicion of usury.' This very significant fact seems to me fatal to the argument of those who only see religious bigotry at work in the expulsion of the Jews. Cunningham, *Usury*, pp. 50, 51 and *n.*

from the mere question of their faith, the King, too, believed that the country would be better for their room than their company. We are specifically told that the incorrigible usury of the Jews led him to the final step.¹ A wrong thing in itself, he knew that it led to 'many mischiefs and disinherisons of honest men, and from it many sins arose.'² He had sincerely tried to root it out altogether; he had forbidden its practice in the Statute of Judaism, and encouraged the Jews to turn to honest labour. They were given facilities to follow merchandise or live by manual toil, and, subject to certain restrictions, they might take lands to farm. But though some took out licences for trade,³ the majority still preferred to live upon the labours of others; they outwitted the King by shifts and contrivances, and the old evils were as rife as ever. Once, again, it became necessary to regulate the usury, which it was impossible to suppress.⁴ Then he had tried to convert the Jews. By their conversion the economic question and the constitutional question would have been solved at once. To a converted Jew usury would become impossible, owing to the spiritual authority of the Church:⁵ like any other foreigner, he might become naturalised, marry, enter the gilds, and be absorbed in the Christian population. There would no longer be any need for those vexatious special regulations which broke the general uniformity of the law, and Edward's methodical soul yearned for uniformity. When everything else failed, the drastic remedy of expulsion presented itself as his only resource. With a population fiercely inflamed against them, in a country as yet imperfectly policed, it was impossible to prevent those lawless onslaughts

¹ *Statutum de Judaïs exeundis Regnum Angliæ*, A.-J.H.E.P. p. 229; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, R.S. ii. 251.

² Prynne, *Demurrer*, p. 36; cf. Bacon (*Of Usury*): 'It is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.'

³ See Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 203; his witticisms, however, are not much to the point.

⁴ *Chapitres tuchauuz le Gywerie*, A.-J.H.E.P. p. 221.

⁵ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 150. The converted Jew would *ipso facto* change his ethical code: it would now be Christian instead of Talmudic.

against the Jews which disgraced the country, and it may have seemed to him, for their own sakes, they had better seek homes elsewhere. But whether humanitarian motives were present to his mind or not, there appeared to be a 'political necessity' that these Asiatic strangers, utterly and apparently irremediably alien to his own people, should no longer remain in a society, into which they would not be absorbed, and to which it was impossible that they should be assimilated; a society, too, which it was the aim of his life to reconstitute on a permanently satisfactory basis.

We have no record of any special action or crime on the part of the Jews which suggested the particular parliamentary demand in 1290. An excuse for agitation had arisen twelve years before, when the charge of tampering with the coinage¹ was raised against them all over the country. Edward was notoriously proud of his new money. In London alone 280 Jews, men and women alike, had been hanged, on what must have been miserably insufficient evidence, for clipping and sweating; in the country many more had suffered death or imprisonment with the loss of their property.² But Edward was still listening to the petition of the Dominicans, and proposed to divide the vast sums of money which came into his hands on this occasion between the preachers and the converts they were expected to make. He was still hopeful of the prospects of conversion. A new crucifixion story from Northampton in 1279 might have been pressed to serve its turn, but when a few Jews had been brought up to London, dragged at horses' tails, and

¹ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, pp. 262 and 266.

² Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 89. There seems some reason to suppose that guilty Christians may have incriminated the Jews at this time to save themselves. In 1277 Manser fil. Aaron sued for an inquiry into some tools for clipping *found on the roof of his house* (Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 43). The Jews themselves had earnestly entreated (22 Hen. III.) that any of their own number properly convicted of this crime might be banished out of the realm, never to return again (Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 109). It is significant that all *Christian* jewellers were imprisoned on the same charge (Rye, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 166). For a time it became quite common for Christians to trump up similar charges against the Jews, in the hope they would purchase their silence with money. But when the King understood this, he ordained that no new charges for old offences should be made after May (Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 211).

hanged, the case was passed by without any general outburst.¹

Popular feeling, however, was in no wise abated against them. In 1286 we are told² the King was tempted with a promise of a fifth of all movables if he would let them go. In one night all the Jews in England were flung into prison, and would most likely have been expelled there and then, had they not outbribed the King with 12,000*l*. No doubt the time was chosen well when Parliament again approached the King in 1290. It was on the eve of the Scotch war; he wanted popularity, and he wanted money. His religious zeal had lately been stirred, for in 1287 he had again taken the cross in Gascony,³ and though it became impossible for him to leave Europe, the old crusading ardour could be turned against the Jews at home. An edict of banishment went out against all the 'enemies of Christ' residing in his French possessions, and the step won him a joyful welcome from clergy and people when he returned to London in 1290. They begged him to serve his Jews in England as he had served his Jews abroad; the Queen Mother, *who had lately taken the veil*, joined her prayers to their entreaties (*procurante domina Alienora*⁴), and they prevailed.

Edward was trying no new policy when he determined to cut the knot which he had been attempting in vain to untie. The Jews had been expelled three times from France,⁵ and at least the threat of universal banishment had been breathed out against them in England.⁶ Already they had been sent

¹ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 43.

² Holinshed, *Chronicles*, ann. 1286.

³ *Ann. Waverley*, p. 1287.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1290.

⁵ Lindo, *Jewish Calendar and Chronological Tables*, 1181, 1218, 1252. The expulsion of 1252 was carried out by St. Louis, who made, however, an exception in favour of mechanics. It is important to notice that this expulsion belongs to the year of the King's melancholy return from the sixth crusade.

⁶ Lindo indeed asserts the Jews had been all banished by Knut in 1020, but he gives no authority. Basnage (*Histoire des Juifs*, v. p. 1660) says that Henry II. threatened them with banishment, but was dissuaded by a timely payment of 5,000 marks. There is a tradition that his bishops had pleaded for their expulsion, and suggested he should allow them to take away a sufficient sum of money to pay for their travelling expenses. Trivet speaks of an expulsion in 1210.

away from certain favoured districts. A hundred years before the final expulsion Abbot Sampson had obtained the King's leave to drive them from Bury St. Edmunds. In 1235 the good men of Newcastle-on-Tyne had prayed the King that no Jew might live amongst them for ever, and their prayer, supported by a gift of a hundred marks, had been heard.¹ The like privilege had been granted by Henry III., or Edward himself, to Derby,² Newbury (Berks), Romsey, Southampton, Winchelsea, Windsor, Wycombe, and nine of the boroughs of Wales.³ Simon de Montfort had turned them out of Leicester in 1260. The Queen Mother had rid her towns of Marlborough, Gloucester, Worcester, and Cambridge⁴ of the obnoxious race in 1275. These local expulsions are surely very significant, and the various reasons which led the burghers to prefer their petitions, or the lords of the towns themselves to take the initiative, cannot fail to be very instructive in view of the general expulsion that was so soon to follow.

In the first place there was the constitutional question, which had begun to press even before the thirteenth century. The Jewry was an anomaly in a town, a district over which the local authorities had no control. For example, when Henry III. granted Colchester Castle to Guy of Rochefort, a special clause in the charter reserved the Jewish quarter in Stockwell Street, and left the Sheriff at liberty to enter the town and hundred to distrain for debts due to the Jews, as they had done in times gone by.⁵ Shrewd townspeople were apt to resent arrangements of this kind, for they realised that the King profited to their loss. The immense sums the Jews were forced to pay to the Crown from time to time came indirectly from their own pockets. The King encouraged the Jew in his more than questionable proceedings, because he intended eventually to share in the plunder. It was no doubt largely this constitutional question which led to their

¹ Brand, *History of Newcastle*, ii. 140.

² Glover, *History of Derby*, Part I. vol. ii. p. 405. The burgesses paid ten marks for this privilege in 1257.

³ Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 190.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 187.

⁵ Cutts, *Colchester*, p. 123.

departure from Bury. The Abbot contended 'that whatever is within the town of St. Edmund, of right belongs to St. Edmund ; therefore the Jews ought to become the men of St. Edmund, *otherwise they should be put forth from the town.*'¹ As things were, it seemed impossible to keep even common order in Bury. The Abbot had no authority in the Jewry, and could not restrain the fierce and uncertain passions of the townspeople, who resented the settlement of these Asiatic strangers in their midst, with their alien faith, their outlandish ways, their unsocial habits, and their evident desire to prey upon the Gentiles. In the very year of the expulsion there was a murderous outbreak against them upon Palm Sunday, in which fifty-seven Jews are said to have perished.² That such a lawless outrage was possible within St. Edmund's own town, hard by the very gates of his abbey, reveals to us how very difficult the situation had become. The flint-built Jewry on the market-place was an anomaly, and the Abbot could not be content until his armed men had marched the Hebrews away to divers towns, with their goods and chattels, their debts paid, and the value of their houses and lands all handed over in honourable fashion.

But the constitutional question did not stand alone at Bury. For Carlyle, indeed, there is no constitutional question. He only sees the usury of these 'harpy Jews.'³ He parades the now famous case of the forty marks borrowed by William the Sacrist of Benedict the Jew, to repair the *camera* which had fallen into ruins,⁴ and shows how soon the usurer's claim amounted from 27*l.* to 440*l.*! 'Here was a way of doing business!' and reason enough why they should depart bag and baggage, reason enough why anyone who should receive them back should be excommunicated at every church and at every altar,⁵ reason enough why there should be 'many dry eyes at their departure.'

¹ *Chron. Joc.* p. 33.

² *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. Arnold, p. 249, *n.*

³ *Past and Present*, ii. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 79. Remains of the 'Abbot's parlour' may yet be seen at Bury.

⁵ *Chron. Joc.* p. 33.

And besides the constitutional anomaly and the monstrosity of their usury, the third great objection to the Jews—their religion—must have told against them at Bury when Abbot Sampson ruled the town. He was a Crusader in will, if not in deed. When the news came that the Holy City had been taken by the Infidels, he got himself a hair shirt, and refused to touch meat.¹ Jocelyn has left us a picture of the old man standing before his king, with a threaded needle in one hand, and a cross of linen cloth which he had secretly made, in the other, vainly praying leave to assume the sacred badge.² But though he was denied the bliss of helping to oust the Saracens from Jerusalem he could at least turn the Jews out of his own town. Constitutional, economic, and religious causes were all at work at Bury St. Edmunds.³ Bigotry alone may perhaps have prompted the expulsion from the Queen Mother's towns in the first years of Edward's reign, and the earlier exodus from Leicester seems at first sight due to the same sole cause. De Montfort's charter can be effectively quoted by those who see only fanaticism in the policy of kings and governors. It was for *the good of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors*, that the lord of Leicester banished the Jews for ever from his town.⁴ And if the charter stood alone, remembering who Sir Simon the Righteous was, and the stock he came of, the charge of mere bigotry

¹ *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, p. 24.

² *Chron. Joc.* p. 39.

³ Dr. Margoliouth, however, who unduly tries to persuade us to believe that Sampson with his Jewish name was 'an Israelite indeed' (*i.e.* a converted Jew), sees in the expulsion a policy of humanitarianism. He maintains that the Abbot plainly discerned that it was better for the Jews themselves, that they should leave a town where unpopularity was apt to have serious consequences, and dismissed them in their own interests. — *The Hebrews in East Anglia*.

⁴ Thompson, *English Municipal History*, p. 62. 'Simon de Montfort, lord of Leicester, to all who may see and hear the present page, health in the Lord! Know all of you that I, for the good of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and successors, have granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed, on behalf of me and of my heirs for ever, to my burgesses of Leicester and their heirs, that no Jew or Jewess in my time, or in the time of any of my heirs to the end of the world, shall inhabit, or remain, or obtain a residence in Leicester. I also will and command that my heirs after me observe and warrant for ever that liberty entire and inviolate to the aforesaid burgesses,' &c.

would not appear unreasonable. But it so chanced that the charter does not stand alone. In a letter written by the Earl's friend Grosseteste to the Countess of Winchester the incident is referred to again, and explained in a very different manner. It is a letter of remonstrance, for it has come to his knowledge that she proposes to receive the banished Jews of Leicester amongst her own people. They were expelled from that town, he tells her, that they might no longer ruthlessly (*immisericorditer*) oppress the Christians there with their usury.¹ Their usury was more at fault than their religion, and the similar treatment of the other great money-lenders of the day, strongly bears out this view of the case. When the 'Caursines' first began to settle in England in 1235 Roger, Bishop of London, ordered them out of his diocese—a local expulsion—and in 1240 they were banished generally out of the kingdom.² It is true they were charged with heresy,³ and suffered excommunication at the hands of the bishop, but their usury was their heresy. It was the usury of the Jews, with all the cruelty and oppression that seemed inseparably bound up with it, that was the real as well as the nominal reason for the punishment that fell upon them.

By an act done by the King in his private council⁴ (*per regem et secretum concilium*) it was decreed that the Jews should avoid the country never to return (*ab Anglia recedere æternaliter*⁵). Any Jew found in England after the Feast of All Saints should be hanged by the neck till he was dead.⁶ Banishment must always be a hard thing, but when once the exile was determined upon Edward did not intend they should be subjected to any unnecessary suffering. The ripe judgment of modern Jews allows that, as far as their anomalous position admitted, 'scrupulous justice' was done.⁷

¹ Grosseteste, *Epistolæ*, ed. Luard, p. 33. The 'great clerk' was at this time Archdeacon of Leicester.

² Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 198.

³ Matthew Paris, ann. 1235.

⁴ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 122 and n.

⁵ *Ann. Waverley*, ann. 1290.

⁶ Matt. West, ann. 1290.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, Preface, p. 3. I do not know what leads Professor Freeman to say that the expulsion was carried out with 'peculiar atrocity' (*Oxford*, p. 27).

Since they were allowed to take their personal property with them, they were given facilities for collecting their debts; and proclamation was made that all Christians should redeem their pledges before the day fixed for their departure. Anything that remained at that time uncollected was to become the property of the King,¹ but the case of the Prior of Bridlington a few years after, shows that some debtors managed to evade payment to Jew and King alike,² and the King's writ to the Sheriff of Yorkshire demanding that the York chests, one of old debts and one of new, should be sent to the Exchequer within fifteen days of St. Martin,³ suggests that the Jews were obliged to leave a considerable part of their wealth behind.

Their houses and what real property they held, in most cases went to the King to be handed on for pious uses.⁴ In the light of subsequent history, and the story of the Reformation especially, one is inclined to scoff at the decent talk of 'pious purposes,' but it would be unjust to Edward to suppose the whole thing a mere hypocrisy, when we remember how often he had parted with other money drawn from the Jews, for the most pious of all purposes—their conversion.⁵

General writs were issued to the sheriffs to make proclamation that none should harm them as they prepared for departure, and special protection was given to men, like Bonamy of York and Moses of Northampton, who could afford to pay for a special guarantee for themselves and their wives and children.⁶ Similar writs, general and special, were sent to the bailiffs, barons, and mariners of the Cinque Ports insisting that the poorer Jews should not be hindered in their outgoing by high rates, and that in no case the charge should

¹ Prynne, *Demurrer*, p. 113; Cunningham, *Growth Eng. Industry and Commerce*, p. 266.

² *Ibid.* p. 113. The Archbishop of York was impeached for conniving with the Prior to conceal the fact that the sum of 200*l.* was owing to the King.

³ Davies, 'The Mediæval Jews of York,' in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, iii.

⁴ Prynne, *Demurrer*, p. 117. Hugh of Kendale was instructed with the management of the matter.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 129.

⁶ Prynne, pp. 111-114.

be excessive, but that all should have a safe and speedy passage, without any loss or molestation whatever.

Some fifteen or sixteen thousand Jews¹ seem to have journeyed safely to London, and embarked on St. Denys' Day. But all who left our shores were not destined to arrive at the desired haven. The savage hatred of the people, which had always been kept in check with so much difficulty, was now no longer to be restrained by the King's writs. One story of vengeance, however, must suffice. We are told that 'a sort of the richest of them being shipped *with their treasure* in a mighty tall ship which they had hired, when the same was under sail and got down the Thames . . . beyond Quinborow the Master Mariner bethought him of a wile, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same till the ship by ebbing of the stream remained on the dry sands. The Master herewith inticed the Jewes to walke out with him on land for recreation; and at length, when he understood the tyde to be comming in, he got him back to the ship, whither he was drawn by a cord. The Jewes made not so much hast as he did, because they were not ware of their danger. But when they perceived how the matter stood they cryed to him for help. Howbeit he told them that they ought to cry rather unto Moses, by whose conduct their Fathers passed through the red Sea . . . to help them out of these raging flouds which now came in upon them, . . . and so soon they were swallowed up in the water.'² For this horrible tragedy the King must bear no blame; the proper hanging of the murderers attests the sincerity of his wish that the exiles should depart in peace.

It is hardly possible now to say what became of those who had the good fortune to get safe away. There is a tradition that some fled to Scotland;³ many no doubt found temporary homes in France, and four years later a few Jews were de-

¹ Matthew of Westminster gives the exact number as 16,511 (ann. 1290); Coke (*Institutes*) gives 15,060.

² Holinshed, *Chron.* 1290; the italics are my own.

³ Wolf, *The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History*, A.-J.H.E.P. p. 55.

signated 'lenglishe,' or 'lenglois,' on the tallage roll of the Jewry in Paris.¹ Bonami Lenglois might very well have been the Bonamy of York, who had figured conspicuously in our great northern Jewry; indeed we know for certain that he was in Paris in 1291, where he was met by John Romaine, Archbishop of York, on his return journey from Rome.² But France afforded them no abiding place, for Philip le Bel copied the policy of Edward in 1306, and only the privileged few were permitted to remain.³ A few very likely stayed in England, making a hollow profession of the Christian faith, and perhaps practising their sacred rites in secret, like the Maranos in Spain. The House of Converts, which received a renewed grant of taxes in the year of the expulsion, seems to have been unusually full.⁴ Tradition says that a settlement continued in Penny Farthing (now Pembroke) Street, on the outskirts of the Old Jewry.⁵ It is quite possible that some returned after a short exile, for we read that six Jews came over in 1310, to beg for the revocation of the edict. The envoys are unnamed; we do not know whence they came or whither they went, nor how their enterprise prospered; but a Hebrew tradition states that the Jews attempted with success to re-establish themselves again, and were only finally hunted from the land in the year 5118⁶ (*i.e.* 1358). Later still, in 1376, the Commons complained that amongst the so-called 'Lombards,' who had made themselves particularly obnoxious in that year, some were in reality Jews in disguise. Here and there in the succeeding centuries a few Jews appear from time to time⁷ like Elias

¹ Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 51.

² Davies, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, iii.

³ Wolf, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 57.

⁴ In 1308 there were fifty-one inmates (Wolf, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 55). I do not know why it is stated (Jacobs, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 41) that the number of inmates was never more than thirteen.

⁵ Neubauer, *Collectanea*, p. 314.

⁶ Joseph ha-Cohen, quoted in Wolf, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 57 n.

⁷ Cunningham, *Industry and Commerce*, p. 267. In 1410 Elias Sabot, physician, was allowed to settle and practise in any part of the realm. Possibly many Jews may have found their way into England when Ferdinand and Isabella turned them out of Spain, and they are said to have built a synagogue in London.

Sabot, the doctor from Bologna,¹ and Roderigo Lopes, physician to Elizabeth;² but as a body they never saw our shores again until Cromwell listened to the prayer of Manasseh ben Israel, the leader of the Jewish colony in Holland, and connived at their return in 1656.³ For more than three centuries it was held to be good law that a man proved to be a Jew should, *ipso facto*, be turned out of the country. As late as 1611 Jacobus Bernatus, a Jew, was banished by the Privy Council, no doubt the same Jacob Barnet who, a year or two before, had run away from Oxford instead of being baptized.⁴

In conclusion, I do not find myself able to agree with those who consider this expulsion *par excellence* the 'dark blot' on Edward's reign. I do not think he ought properly to be charged with breaking faith with the Jews, for none knew better than the Jews themselves that they had no 'rights' to violate. If Prynne's description of them, as the King's 'most absolute bondslaves and exquisite villains,'⁵ is not technically correct, it expresses at least the truth that the King always claimed to do with them as he pleased. They were here on sufferance only: they had *no* status, their goods were the King's goods, their debts his debts, their lands and houses were held at his pleasure,⁶ they themselves were his 'chattels,' and with their wives and children could be mortgaged like any other property.⁷

Parliament did not need to be reminded that the Jews 'had been and were very profitable to him (the King) and

¹ Rye, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 67. See also Lee, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1880.

² Wolf, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 58.

³ *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴ From an entry in the *Privy Council Register*, quoted by Neubauer.

⁵ *Demurrer*, p. 128.

⁶ Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* p. 203 and *nn.* 'Catalla Judæorum sunt domini Regis propria,' 'Judæus vero nihil proprium habere potest, quia quicquid acquirit non sibi acquirit sed regi,' &c.

⁷ Henry III. 'sold' the Jews to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1255, and later in his reign mortgaged them to Prince Edward, who handed them on to the merchants of South France (Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 158). 'Like a second Titus or Vespasian,' writes Matthew Paris, the King 'sold the Jews to Earl Richard his brother, that the Earl might disembowel those whom he had already skinned.'

his ancestors.¹ They were a great and most convenient source of revenue,² so that it was a real self-denying ordinance on Edward's part when he yielded to the constitutional demand, and let them go. His great embarrassment in 1294, which led to still further concessions of the very greatest interest in our constitutional history, was largely due to the absence of the Jews.³ It is true that he had still some capitalists to fall back upon, for even before the expulsion the rich Lombard companies had their agents firmly settled in the land. Although the Caursines had been expelled in Henry's reign, they had soon found their way back,⁴ and were always supported in their questionable proceedings by the Pope, who placed his great weapon of excommunication at their service. Plain people like Matthew Paris and Grosseteste called their transactions usurious, but they were not technically usurers,⁵ and those who could not afford to keep a nice conscience might have recourse to them without much scandal. Edward had often found them useful before he ascended the throne: his long sojourn in the south of Europe had made him acquainted with the great Italian firms of Florence, Lucca, and Sienna, which had assisted him with money in the Holy Land and acted as his news and diplomatic agents.⁶ From the first he favoured them in England, and borrowed freely from them in his constantly recurring difficulties.

It was not necessary that the King should pay interest to his foreign bankers, and bald interest was of course objectionable, but an innocent 'premium' might be bargained for at the time, or voluntarily given in consideration of losses due to delay in payment,⁷ while some state official was handed over

¹ *Statute of Judaism.*

² Gross, *A.-J.H.E.P.* pp. 192-205.

³ *Ibid.* p. 211; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 531.

⁴ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* pp. 198-9.

⁵ Cunningham, *City Opinion on Banking*, p. 2 n.

⁶ Bond, *Archæologia*, xxviii.

⁷ *Ibid.* Edward gave the Frescobaldi 10,000*l.* 'in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ iidem mercatores sustinuerunt ratione retardationis solutionis debitorum prædictorum.'

as security, or a branch of the revenue pledged for the repayment.¹ But the Lombards could never become a source of revenue like the Jews, and Edward knowing this, was yet content that they should go, to the unbounded relief of his people. Edward was not spotless in the transaction, and at best it was a horrible business to pack off so many poor souls, who had to find fresh homes for themselves in an inhospitable Christian world ; but so far as I can make out he was really desirous to do the right thing as far as he knew, and rather than dwell too nicely on his shortcomings in this matter of the expulsion, I think it is more profitable to point out how much blame should attach to his forefathers, who were responsible for their first coming in, and in particular his own father, who kept them in the country when they sought, even with tears, 'for God's sake that he would give us licence to depart out of his kingdom, never to return again, leaving here our household stuffs and houses behind us.'² When William I. encouraged the Hebrew capitalists to settle in his new country, he could not have been unaware of the suffering that must inevitably follow in their track, for it was a commonplace at the Norman Court that 'usury was the root of all vices.'³ When John and Henry III. cunningly enticed fresh Jews from abroad, despite the open hostility of the people, who would have prevented their landing at the Cinque Ports had they dared,⁴ they knew that although they might profit the people would be put to distress. These are the kings, I hold, who are chiefly to blame in the matter of the Jews ; for, to borrow the plain-speaking phrases of Grosseteste, 'princes who received a share of the usury which the Jews ground out

¹ Hall, *Customs Revenue*, ii. 130. In his thirty-fourth year Edward handed over the customs of wool and leather at every port in England, to some merchants of Florence.

² Matthew Paris, ann. 1253. He gives the extremely urgent speech of Elyas le Evesk, who was so overcome with excitement that at its conclusion he fell 'almost into an ecstasy, ready to die.'

³ Ashley, *Econ. Hist.* p. 195.

⁴ Tovey, *Angl. Jud.* p. 80. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports were warned not to oppose their landing.

of Christian people, lived by pillage, and without pity ate and drank and covered themselves with the blood of those whom it was their duty to protect.'¹

APPENDIX.

THE MODERN JEWISH PROBLEM IN EUROPE.

The present anti-Semitic agitation, which rages most fiercely in those countries where mediæval conditions are still remaining, may help us in many ways to read our own Hebrew riddle of the past. It deserves the attentive study of the historical student. The frequent grumbling against the Jew in Paris, in Vienna, and Berlin, the ceaseless friction in Eastern Europe, is very inadequately explained on the ground of religious intolerance. Sometimes even now popular fury bursts into a blaze, and we hear of a new persecution of the Jews, carried out after the fashion of the dark ages. Within the last decade mediæval horrors have been repeated, or more than repeated. Men have been murdered, their wives outraged, their children cruelly slain, and the spoil of their houses taken for a prey; and while the modern riots curiously resemble the Jewry-sacking of older days, the modern excuses are mediæval in kind, and even in the very phraseology. If the form of the rising is religious, the real grievances at the back are rather economic, social, and political.²

At the present time the cruel anti-Jewish legislation in Russia, recalling as it does in so many particulars the regulations of the middle ages, is agitating the whole of Europe. The persecution of to-day is elaborately explained on the grounds of old-world bigotry, political distrust, social jealousy, and fear. The spirit of fanaticism was already on the alert at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Government, having annexed the province of Little Russia, with its considerable Hebrew population, was confronted for the first time with a Jewish question of its own. A dead set was at once made against 'the inveterate haters of Christ the Saviour,' and Greek Christians, even in the educated society of St. Petersburg to-day, still hold by the bigotry of their fathers.³ They seem quite able to tolerate the Mohammedans within their borders (and many of the Tartars in the Crimea and along the Volga follow the Prophet), but

¹ *Epist.* p. 36.

² Cunningham, *Christian Opinion on Usury*, p. 48 and note.

³ Lanin, *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1890.

they cannot away with the other 'infidels,' although they own theirs to be the higher faith, because they still hold every Jew responsible in some sort, for Christ's murder long ago.

The political argument is pressed by the Panslavists, who believe that the Jews form a foreign element in the State, which constitutes a source of danger and disintegration. They 'deal wisely,' therefore, like the Egyptians before them, lest 'it come to pass, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies.' The Jews are forbidden to live within fifty versts of the frontier, not only as a precaution against smuggling, but because it is really feared they might ally themselves in time of war with the enemies of the State,¹ and their extreme unwillingness to serve in the army, though as natural as possible, only serves to increase the popular suspicion.² In England they certainly were a foreign element in the State which might prove a source of political danger. The baronial party, at all events, recognised their political importance as the King's friends in the thirteenth century, and hated them accordingly as enemies to the commonweal. I have only found one instance of an English Jew assisting an *external* enemy, and that is the case of a certain Josce, or Jace, of Gloucester, who was fined a hundred shillings in 1169, for furnishing the rebels in Ireland with great sums of money.³ Matthew Paris, however, gives a curious story of the Continental Jews, who were detected in a subtle attempt to supply the Tartars with arms in one of their attacks against Christendom.⁴

But, after all, social jealousy is probably the really greatest element of discord. Half the Jews in the world, perhaps, are herded together in Russian territory; and notwithstanding all their miseries they multiply with quite extraordinary rapidity. At Odessa they seem to have increased at eight times the rate of the Christian community.⁵ Russian statesmen are not unreasonably apprehensive when they fear their country may become a Jewish empire.⁶ They say with the old Egyptian king, 'Behold, the people of the children of Israel are too many, *and too mighty for us.*'⁷ For the Jews are not only a prolific people, they are a great and indomitable race, and, notwithstanding their disabilities, seem likely, as M. Pobiedonostov put it some

¹ *The Times*, Oct. 13, 1890.

² In 1878, of the entire number of recruits who did not respond when called upon, 87 per cent. were Jews. *Sovremennaiâ Rossia*.

³ Bigland, *History of Gloucester*, p. 135. ⁴ *Flores Historiarum*, ann. 1245.

⁵ Skalkoffsky, *Sovremennaiâ Rossia*, quoted in *Contemporary Review*, March 1891. The numbers are taken from the Address Calendar of the Odessa police.

⁶ Compare the state of affairs in Austria.

⁷ Exodus i. 8.

years ago, to 'excel the Russians in everything.' Now that the 'May Laws' of 1882 are being ruthlessly enforced, and the Russian Jews are cruelly deprived of educational advantages, while difficulties of all kinds are put in the way of their entering the liberal professions, they cannot excel their fellow-subjects 'in everything;' but restricted to a commercial career they can, and do, compete disastrously with the native Russian trader. They have a peculiar aptitude for business and bargaining which leaves no chance to their easy-going neighbours. They love to live by their wits, and seem to have an incurable tendency to take to disreputable businesses—selling spirits, lending money, or coming in, unwelcome middlemen, between the producer and the consumer. The liquor trade is almost entirely in the hands of Jews, and it is notorious that the spirit they sell is often adulterated with poisonous material; the stupid Russian soon falls entirely into the power of the clever and unscrupulous Jew who provides him with his *vodka*, uncharitably supplies him with loans, and takes every profitable business out of his hands. It is fair to say that the rates of interest charged by the Russian *koolak*—the native usurer—are often far higher than the rates charged by the alien lender,¹ just as the 'Christian' usury of the Lombards in mediæval England, was known to be more grinding than the usury of the Jews; but for all that the Jew is the most obvious usurer, the stranger who is seen to come and prey upon the Gentiles amongst whom he settles for a while, and the great odium of usury in Russia to-day, as in England in times gone by, falls upon them. It is said again, in the very phrase of the Middle Ages, they 'suck the blood out of the country' by their usuries and monopoly of trades. When the anti-Jewish rioters at Kiev, in 1882, were expostulated with and warned of the punishment that must follow, they replied, 'No matter, we will take our punishment; it will be only once. *The Jew tortures us all our lives.*' 'They grind us to death, they have got everything into their own hands.'² 'The Jews are disliked,' wrote a Russian lady, 'not because they believe and pray differently, but because they are a parasitical race, who, producing nothing, fasten on the produce

¹ A man who lends at 100 per cent. is looked upon as a benefactor; 'in extreme cases' the borrower is quite ready to pay 1,200 per cent. a year; while at very exceptional times money has been borrowed from the *koolak* at 2,500 per cent. (Lanin, *Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1891).

² Mme. Ragozin, *Century Magazine*, xxiii. 908. M. Skalkoffsky writes to the same effect: 'With few unimportant exceptions the Jews are not personally concerned in any productive industry, but almost invariably occupy a sort of intermediate position as middlemen, petty traders, agents, brokers, &c.'

of land and labour, and live on it, choking the breath of life out of commerce and industry as surely as the creeper throttles the tree that upholds it.'¹ This language may be exaggerated, and it is certainly unfair to charge the miseries of the Russian peasant to the Jews alone;² but there can be no doubt that the social distrust of the Jews, and a not altogether unintelligent fear of what they may become, have done more than a mere religious narrowness in bringing about the present temper of the Russian people. These are the reasons why certain of their journalists have clamoured for an expulsion of the Jews from their country in the old style, and these are the reasons why the Tzar, who is not prepared to carry out the old historic policy in all its nakedness, seems now bent on 'rendering their farther sojourn in Russia moderately inconvenient to them.'³ Unlike Pharaoh in the Bible, he is more than willing to let the people go. If they choose to be 'converted,' as some few are doing in the present stress, they are welcome to stay, and so far the question is not improperly called a religious question; but if they will not be converted *and become as the Russians*, if they remain Jews—*i.e.* a distinct and rapidly growing race, steadily believed to be hostile to the national life, and inimical to the best interests of the country—Russia must be made an undesirable residence for them; and as a matter of fact this policy is being carried out with ever-increasing success, and thousands of Jews are being worried away to find new homes as best they can.

¹ Mme. Ragozin, *Century Magazine*, xxiii. 919.

² *Ibid.* xxiv. 54.

³ Since the above words were written Russia has ceased to be merely 'moderately inconvenient' to them.

FRANCE AND CROMWELL.

By HERBERT HAINES.

WHETHER we do, or do not, accept Mr. Palgrave's¹ novel and somewhat daring estimate of Oliver Cromwell, as the drudge and tool of the army, we shall, at all events, probably agree with Von Ranke, that the Protector was personally responsible for the attack on Spain and for the French alliance.²

And, as Cromwell's foreign policy was peculiarly his own, so it was long held to constitute his especial glory; his admirers were never tired of parading its success and praising its vigour, and his heartiest haters admitted grudgingly that, tyrant and regicide as he was, no 'patriot king' could, in his dealings with foreign states, have proved himself more mindful of the interests and honour of England.

Recently, however, cultured public opinion seems to have changed in this matter. It is recognised that Cromwell, in assisting the rising power of France and in accelerating the fall of Spain, was really doing his best to bring about that state of things which compelled Europe, under English guidance, to wage a costly, and for a time dubious, war of independence against the France of 'le Grand Monarque.'

Compelled to admit the truth of this, the Protector's champions have chosen to vindicate his heart at the expense of his head; and to argue that, if unwise, if led away by religious animosities and conservative prejudices into viewing Spain as still the great enemy of Protestantism and freedom,

¹ *Oliver Cromwell the Protector.*

² *History of England*, vol. iii. page 213.

at all events, Cromwell gave splendid proof of his unselfishness, by engaging in a naval war, which would give strength and glory to a service in whose success he could have no selfish interest, instead of leading against France an army which he had created, and at the head of which he would have won a dazzling succession of brilliant victories.

But is this really the truth? Was Oliver Cromwell's policy really mistaken, was it really unselfish? The argument that Cromwell was misled in his foreign policy by conservative and religious prejudices, seems to assume that the man's whole nature changed when he examined the affairs, and estimated the condition, not of England, but of Europe.

Friends and foes alike will acknowledge that a most marked feature of Cromwell's character was the cool common sense with which he appreciated *existing facts*.

Whatever the reality and depth of his feelings, whatever the tenacity of his conservative instincts, they were, at all events in English affairs, never allowed to obscure his judgment, or to interfere with a success which he mainly owed to his faculty for seeing things as they were.

Surely, in the utter absence of evidence to the contrary, it is at least permissible to doubt, whether in the conduct of foreign affairs, Cromwell lost that dispassionate clearness of vision which served him so well, as a soldier, an intriguer, a ruler, and an old 'Parliamentary hand.'

Not only, indeed, is evidence to the contrary wanting, but evidence in favour of the *à priori* probable view abounds. Never did Cromwell show more common sense (and should we add enlightened selfishness?) than in his dealings with Holland; and the same robust, clear-sighted common sense is conspicuous in his correspondence with Charles Gustavus of Sweden.

But *if* Cromwell saw and realized the actual positions of Spain and France respectively, what motives urged him to adopt the apparently unselfish course of attacking the former by sea, instead of the latter by land? I shall attempt to show that the unselfishness of Cromwell's policy was apparent

only, and that in this matter the real interests of the Protector, and of his family, clashed with those of England, disastrously for the latter.

It will be granted that, while a war against Spain could, as the result showed, be successfully waged by sea, a war against the France of that day must have been a war of invasion.

The former was almost certain to be successful. As a matter of fact we know that the prospects of success it afforded were over-estimated ; it would be cheap, it was expected indeed that the capture of treasure ships, and the plunder of the West Indies, would pay its expenses, and if Cromwell could hope for no direct advantage from the strengthening of the fleet, it was certain that a strong fleet could never be a danger to his Government, and that its increase would tend to make the Commonwealth popular, and would be a strong guarantee against any Royalist invasion.

On the other hand, the objections to a land war on a great scale were, rightly looked at, insuperable.

First, as in all wars, there was the question of expense ; no small matter to a usurper, who had already been forced to tax unwilling subjects more heavily than their legitimate sovereigns had done. For a land war with France must be a war on a great scale. A small contingent of English troops answered Cromwell's purpose well enough, when employed against Spain in co-operation with Turenne's army, and in operations which were merely subsidiary to those of Blake in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean ; but since France, at that time, could not be conquered to much purpose at sea, the land must have been the main field of operations against her, and must not this have involved a large English army on the Continent ?

It might indeed be suggested that Condé and Spain would have furnished the bulk of an invading army, but how far could such allies have been trusted ? Spain has always refrained from fighting her own battles, when she could cajole

a friend into fighting them for her, and assuredly that most bigoted and conservative of Catholic monarchies would never have acted heartily with the equally bigoted Republicans of Puritan England, a power which 'the Dons' seem to have regarded throughout this period with a curious mixture of contempt and timidity. And if there could be no trustworthy co-operation to be expected from Spain, how did the case stand with regard to Condé? What could that prince and his followers, profligates and fine gentlemen, plunging into war and treason with a 'light heart,' and changing sides, as they changed horses, from considerations of convenience, have in common with the dogged, churlish, sanctimonious, but comparatively consistent and always earnest, English Puritans?

Assuming, then, that war with France meant the maintenance of a large English army on the Continent, it meant an increase of taxation from which an unpopular ruler, a ruler who could never coerce a Parliament into genuine support, might well recoil. Nor was this the worst: such a war must have cost not only money but men. It is true that England possessed a, for that time, large standing army, an army which Mr. Palgrave puts at 40,000 men, and which he tells us, 'if their England be compared with our England, represented a force of over 285,000 strong.'¹ But this army was not one whit too strong for its work; it was no trifling task to overawe the people of England into complete, if unwilling, obedience to the man who had slain her king and wrecked her liberties; if to this task was to be added that of carrying out a successful invasion of the military power of the Continent, a great increase of the army was absolutely necessary. And in addition to the expense of this, there were two other, and very serious, objections to such an increase.

Whatever we may think of the extreme theory which represents Cromwell as the 'drudge' and 'very kickshaw' of the army, it is certain that as Protector his policy was, as far as possible, to play off, from whatever motives, the army and the nation against each other; therefore he would naturally

¹ *Oliver Cromwell the Protector*, p. 29.

recoil from a measure which would increase enormously the already preponderating strength of the former.

Again, if the army had been suddenly increased by, say, 30,000 men, what would have been the temper and character of these new recruits? They would certainly have differed greatly from the veterans who had fought through the civil wars, whose religious and political opinions had been formed in that 'Sturm und Drang' period, and who had for 'the general' that feeling of half trust and half awe, with which good soldiers always regard the chief who has never failed to lead them to victory. Was it not probable that the politics of the new soldiers would either be those of the country at large, that is Royalist, or that they would be mere adventurers prepared to treat England as pirates might treat a captured argosy?

Let it be granted, however—and the assumption is one which a cautious ruler might well have hesitated to make—that by a judicious selection of recruits, and by a judicious blending of new with old soldiers, the character of the army, as a whole, would have remained unchanged, still to preserve the personal allegiance of such an army, it was necessary that the Protector should continue to command it in person, and should command it to victory.

Cromwell's admirers, when discussing these eventualities, may fairly be considered to state their case in the language of Macaulay. They assume that 'it would have been easy for him (Cromwell) to plunge his country into Continental hostilities on a large scale, and to dazzle the restless factions which he ruled by the splendour of his victories.'¹

But looking at the matter, not as a panegyrist, but as a practical man, not as an enthusiastic civilian, but as a soldier and a statesman, Cromwell may well have doubted, first, whether he could lead the army to victory, and secondly, whether he could lead it at all.

As to the former question, omitting the consideration which every soldier recognises, that there is a great element

¹ Macaulay, *Hallam's Constitutional History*.

of uncertainty in all military affairs,¹ what reason had Cromwell to expect any brilliant and decisive successes ?

It is true that the army he might have led would have been a magnificent one, the finest army, many qualified judges of such matters hold, that England has ever produced, but how about its opponents? Even then the French army of that day was a highly drilled and disciplined force, and in the 'Maison du Roy' 'the Ironsides' would, for the first time, have met cavalry not only as brave, but also as highly trained as themselves. And between the leaders of the two armies what comparison is possible? Even if Cromwell had led his army himself, would that army have had a general to compare with Turenne? When a question as to the respective merits of successful commanders arises, it becomes the civilian to refrain from even thinking an opinion, and to be content to sum up, and, if it may be, balance the opinions of military critics; and however such opinions differ as to the exact rank among generals which should be assigned to Oliver Cromwell, I am not aware that any military authority has classed him in the same category with the great French marshal. Now it is true that there have been instances in which battles have been won by the inferior leader commanding the better army, and let us assume for the sake of argument that the English soldiers of the Commonwealth would, had it come to hard fighting, have compensated by their magnificent discipline and bulldog bravery for any comparative shortcomings in their leader's generalship; but what right have we to assume that Turenne would, in such a case, have allowed it to come to hard fighting?

In nothing is the superiority of a great, over a good, general more obviously shown than in the way in which the former avoids, when he chooses, the risk of a battle. Turenne, in the opinion of competent critics, was even greater in

¹ 'To eliminate all chances of failure from war is impossible. When you have done your best and have brought your army to the scratch under the most favourable conditions, . . . you will still in your heart, if you know war well, realise how uncertain is the game after all.'—Wolseley, 'War.' *Fortnightly*, Jan. 1889.

winning campaigns than in winning actions ; he could win a great victory, but, which is perhaps the rarer virtue, he could win the fruits of victory without risking a conflict, and delay and check the enemy he might not venture to engage. In the event of an English invasion, considerations which a civilian may venture to estimate would surely have induced the patriotic Frenchman to manœuvre instead of fighting. Time would cost the invaders money, and, in those days of unscientific commissariat arrangements, lives ; it would give Mazarin the chance of creating Royalist diversions in England, it would ripen the existing seeds of hatred and distrust between English heretics, French rebels, and Spanish 'catholicons,' and above all it would tarnish the military reputation of the usurper's Government. For it is the great weakness of every military despotism, that not only it cannot afford to fail in the field, but it cannot afford not to succeed quickly and decisively. Once, the only time that he had ever encountered a real general, Cromwell had only escaped disaster by the 'skin of his teeth.' May he not have apprehended that the marvellous luck which saved him at Dunbar might fail to repeat itself were he to dare to measure swords with a far greater warrior than David Leslie ?

But as a matter of fact, would the English army, as has generally been assumed, have been commanded by the Protector in person ?

Cromwell never said a truer thing than when he compared himself to a parish constable ; and he might have added, a constable always on duty. To rule by the army, yet to keep up as decent a pretence as might be of respect for the liberties of the subject ; to overawe where he could not conciliate and shrank from crushing ; to partially satisfy the greed of some and the fanaticism of others of the chief officers, yet to prevent their driving the English people into a revolt of desperation, this was the work which Cromwell did for the last five years of his life. But it was work which only Cromwell could do ; in his absence there would have been no one who could even have seemed to fill his place. It was probably

this knowledge that his work must die with him, which a little later caused the dying Protector to, for the first time in his life, consciously refuse to look a fact in the face, and to admit to himself that he was doomed. Had Cromwell gone to France, in those days of slow and uncertain communications, irrevocable mischief might have been worked in England, and whatever that mischief, once landed on the Continent, Cromwell must have served the campaign through with his army. A friend, had he possessed such a treasure, might have used the same argument to him which prevented Napoleon III. from joining his army in the Crimea, namely, that in such a case he must have come back crowned with laurels, or without a crown at all.

And if Cromwell could not afford to lead an English army in a Continental war, to whom could he afford to entrust one?

Failure in such a war, failure to triumph, must, it cannot be too often repeated, have meant ruin; but success, gained under any leader save himself, would have been hardly less fatal. The Protector held the army by the memory of how it and he had endured and conquered together; he controlled the nation through its belief that the army led by him was invincible. But what would have been his position towards an army, which, as has already been shown, must have been largely composed of men who had never served under him, and which had fought and conquered under another leader, towards a nation which would speedily have forgotten Cromwell's triumphs over English and Scottish Royalists, in admiration of another man's more recent triumphs over our hereditary enemies the French?

And if, in such a case, Cromwell's own position would have been more than precarious, surely that of his son, and hoped-for successor, a civilian who had never 'seen a shot fired in anger,' would obviously have been untenable.

Weighty as this objection may appear, to understand its full force we must consider to whom, failing himself, the Protector could have entrusted the army of the Common-

wealth. Now there were three, and only three, soldiers in Great Britain, whose past was such that it would not have been suicidal to oppose them to Turenne, and grotesque to expect them to co-operate with Condé; these three men were Fairfax, Monk, and Lambert.

Each of these three would have been, from Cromwell's point of view, peculiarly dangerous as the victorious leader of an army which had fought England's battles triumphantly. Fairfax was a Presbyterian, married to a Royalist wife, living in unobtrusive, but marked, opposition to the established Government, and having the one great bond in common with the Royalist-Nationalist party, that he had shrunk from dipping his hands in the blood of 'the Blessed Martyr.'

Monk was a soldier of fortune, subtle and unreliable, a man whom even Cromwell could not fathom, and whom he was therefore too wise to trust; a man of whom nothing was known except his past, and that past included marriage with a Royalist, and years spent in the King's service.

Lambert was, next to Cromwell, the most powerful, and, to the Protector, the most dangerous person in England.

Practically, it is almost certain that Lambert would have made good his claim to take Cromwell's place at the head of the invading army; and if Cromwell could not safely trust any man in such a post, it is not too much to say he could have trusted any man in England there more safely than Lambert.

In conclusion, then, so far from a war with France promising advantage to Cromwell and his family, it would have been for him and for them pregnant with dangers of the gravest kind; dangers which it is reasonable to suppose a man of the Protector's ability would thoroughly gauge and realise.

Is this to say that he refrained from such a war from selfish motives? Not necessarily, since it is still open to his admirers to contend that he believed the best interests of the country to be bound up with those of a Cromwellian dynasty. But if the contention of this paper be admitted, the vindicators

of the great regicide must seek for other evidence of his disinterestedness in his conduct as an English despot, and must refrain from claiming our admiration for a foreign policy which may well have been one of enlightened, but anti-patriotic, selfishness, and of which we can say with certainty that it was injurious for England, and advantageous for her tyrant and his immediate successor.

FREDERICK THE GREAT'S INVASION OF SAXONY, AND THE PRUSSIAN 'MÉMOIRE RAISONNÉ,' 1756.

By ARTHUR R. ROPES, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

IN a previous paper which I read some years ago before the Society I declared my intention of discussing the reasons for which Frederick the Great made his famous attack on Saxony in 1756—an attack which roused half Europe against him, and brought him within a hair's-breadth of ruin, but of which he never seems to have repented.

Now as that invasion of Saxony was in itself a violent measure, and carried out with a harshness that approached brutality; as it was accompanied by an extreme disregard of the feelings of exalted personages and of high society generally; and as it resulted in the ruin of the countries of Saxony and of Prussia by a desolating war, it must be admitted to stand in need of great justification. Such justification it was at one time generally thought that Frederick the Great possessed. Macaulay in his famous essay on Frederick gives voice to the common belief of his time, when he says that Europe recognised that though the King had been in the wrong in invading Silesia, he was only acting in self-defence in absorbing Saxony. Now since Macaulay's time, as I stated in my former paper, and need not repeat at any length here, a good deal has been found out and published that seems to bear very much the other way. There was always a current of opinion adverse to Frederick, even when the philosophers of his age were unanimous in his favour; and this opinion has found voice since in many forms. The works on different

sides of the question I have already enumerated in my former paper, and need not again refer to them. I have found only a few of them of use for the present paper—chiefly ‘*Die Geheimnisse des Sächsischen Cabinets*,’ a work written by Count Vitzthum from the Saxon Archives, and published in 1866—and besides this I have consulted the English state papers of the time, especially Sir Andrew Mitchell’s despatches—and, of course, Frederick’s own works and the ‘*Mémoire Raisonné*’ of Hertzberg.

The questions which I have set myself to discuss are briefly these: What were Frederick the Great’s reasons for invading Saxony, and what justification had he, if any? Now we know what reasons Frederick *gave* in his ‘*History of the Seven Years’ War*,’ and in the ‘*Mémoire Raisonné*’ which he caused Hertzberg to draw up. In these works he charged the Saxon Government with being an accomplice in the plot of Austria and Russia against him, and with intriguing against him in every quarter. He had, therefore, merely forestalled an insidious foe, as he had a perfect right to do. In proof of this statement he adduced a number of passages from Saxon despatches and state papers, which he had first seen in copies made by a treacherous Saxon clerk, Menzel, and had then verified by seizing the originals at Dresden. If we accept that statement and those proofs we shall need to go no further into the question of Frederick’s reason and excuse for his action. He had reason enough, evidently.

Now the thesis that I am going to propound may sound paradoxical; but it has been arrived at after some study of authorities. And my conclusion is, that Frederick’s diplomatic proofs will not hold water; that Saxony was neither allied against him nor doing anything of particular importance to hurt him; that the ‘*Mémoire Raisonné*’ is a series of strained inferences from doubtful texts; and, nevertheless, that Frederick had good and sufficient justification for what he did. In short, I propose in great measure to admit the statements of Frederick’s enemies, while I refuse to assent to their conclusions.

Already in Frederick's own time doubts were expressed as to the cogency of the 'Mémoire Raisonné.' Count Hertzberg himself, who wrote it, speaks very doubtfully of the expediency of his master's action ; and, having regard to the results of that action, we may say that if not expedient, if not necessary in fact, it was in the highest degree unjust. I may translate the passage from Hertzberg's dissertation on the reign of Frederick, read before the Berlin Academy after the King's death.

'Meanwhile' (*i.e.* during the campaign of 1756) 'he had the Archives at Dresden opened, and sent to his Ministry all the original despatches of that Court, from which I composed and published the famous "Mémoire Raisonné," in which the eventual plans of war and partition directed against Russia were proved by the original despatches of the Austrian and Saxon Ministers. It is agreed that such plans existed ; but as they were only eventual, and presupposed the condition that the King of Prussia caused a war, it will always remain doubtful whether these plans would ever have been carried out, and whether it would have been more dangerous to await than to forestall them.' It is clear from this passage that Hertzberg himself thought that it *would* have been wiser to await the attack. Naturally the statement was hailed by the assailants of Frederick. 'See!' they exclaimed, 'the very man that wrote the "Mémoire Raisonné" did not believe in it! His arguments are mere sophistries, his proofs are falsifications, or else passages taken out of their context and twisted to imply a falsehood.' To this the champions of Frederick had, of course, their ready reply. Hertzberg, they said, was a mere clerk, who really only lent his style to Frederick's work, and had to put into shape the materials which Frederick had found for him. And if he did not believe in the cogency of his own work it was because the work was not really his but his master's, and his boast of having composed the 'Mémoire' was mere personal vanity.

Now it seems clear, from the general tone of Hertzberg's dissertation already referred to, that he had an abundantly

good opinion of himself. He brought into prominence all that *he* had done for Frederick—such as the rather dirty bit of work involved in finding historical pretexts for the partition of Poland. It is quite possible, therefore, that Hertzberg may have claimed too great a share in the composition of the ‘Mémoire.’ In this case, the only way is to look through the volumes of the ‘Politische Correspondenz’—Frederick’s Diplomatic Correspondence, still being edited for the Prussian Government—to see how the ‘Mémoire Raisonné’ came into existence, and whether the King himself had much part in composing it. I consulted the proper volumes, and I was constrained to believe that Hertzberg really *was* the author, with perhaps some help from Counts Podewils and Finckenstein, Frederick’s Ministers at Berlin. I should think that no one could account it likely that Frederick had this elaborate statement prepared *before* he decided to enter Saxony at all. Now *after* he had so decided he had certainly very little time to work at it himself. He had already seen copies of the Saxon despatches bearing on his affairs, by the treason of Menzel, a clerk in the Saxon Chancery. When Frederick left Berlin for the frontier he had with him a *précis* of these documents, but the copies were left at Berlin in a sealed bundle. When in possession of Dresden, he had the archives opened, in spite of the resistance of the Queen of Poland, Electress of Saxony, and took out the original documents mentioned in the *précis*. These were packed up and sent to Podewils and Finckenstein, with the pressing order to draw up a *précis* of them to enlighten the public, and print the despatches in full after the *précis*. The original documents were to be shown to Mitchell, the English ambassador, and Valory, the French ambassador. Later on we find Frederick pressing for speed in drawing up the *précis*. The work of writing this was entrusted to Hertzberg, then a subordinate Minister. He sent Frederick two draughts of it; then a third, which Frederick returned, with the question whether they thought he had time to read all that. This was on October 8, 1756—only a week after the murderous fight of Lobositz. Frederick had looked

at the paper, however, and noted one omission, and he urged his Ministers to make haste, and not to waste time in sending to him, but publish. These remonstrances had the desired effect. Hertzberg bestirred himself, and on October 16 came out the 'Mémoire,' which Frederick apparently did not see again till it was printed, and certainly did not intend to—for he urged his Ministers to work more and consult him less. The 'Mémoire' then *was* Hertzberg's work, as far as we can discover, and his alone. Nevertheless it is clear that he did not believe in the cogency of his own arguments. And when we look a little into the nature of his evidence we shall see why.

The first document which is adduced to prove the thesis of the 'Mémoire Raisonné' is the Partition Treaty concluded between Saxony and Austria in 1745. This treaty was made during the height of the second Silesian war, when the Austrian and Saxon armies were preparing to pour into Silesia to wrest that province back from Frederick—when Frederick's military reputation was shaken by his reverses in 1744, and his ruin was looked on as certain. Austria was at open war with him; Saxony helping Austria with all her forces, though seeking to shelter herself from counter-attack under the friendly wing of Russia. Frederick's attack on Bohemia in 1744 had roused against him not only Austria and Saxony, but Russia, England, and Holland. By the Treaty of Warsaw, January 8, 1745, English subsidies went to defend Maria Theresa against Prussia. The Peace of Dresden, on Christmas Day, 1745 put an end to these treaties. The partition plans fell to the ground with the war that had generated them. So much Hertzberg admits; but he tries to prove that the intention of carrying out these treaties remained.

Let us go on to his *next* piece of evidence. This is the famous Fourth Secret and Separate Article of the Alliance of St. Petersburg between Russia and Austria, signed on May 22, 1746. To understand the motives of this treaty we must remember the circumstances under which it was made. Maria Theresa had just concluded the Peace of Dresden with

Prussia ; she was still engaged in an exhausting war with the Bourbons of France and Spain. She desired to have her countries protected from another Prussian attack as in 1744, or from any Turkish hostility. Russia on her part had been about to interfere against Prussia and in favour of Saxony and Austria, when the sudden collapse of the allied forces at the end of the year 1745 forestalled her always tardy action. Russia was in no danger whatever from Frederick, who could not reach her save through the wastes and swamps of neutral Poland. He had no special ground for a quarrel, and indeed was always uneasily anxious to please Russia.

The secret article of the treaty relating to Prussia is accurately given in the 'Mémoire Raisonné.' The body of the treaty is a defensive alliance of the usual kind. But by this separate and secret article it is declared that the Empress-Queen intends to carefully observe the Treaty of Dresden ; but if, contrary to expectation, the King of Prussia should attack her, or Russia, or Poland, her rights over Silesia and Glatz will revive, and the two contracting Powers will assist each other against Prussia, not only with 30,000 men, as laid down in the treaty, but with 60,000, or their whole forces ; and Austria will pay to Russia 2,000,000 florins within a year from the time she has recovered Silesia. Other secret articles provide for Russia's neutrality during the present war, and for the engaging of a Russian subsidized army by England and Holland ; and the most secret article binds Russia and Austria to common defence against the Turk. I pointed out in my former paper—what is, indeed, obvious from the circumstances of the case—that this treaty as regarded Prussia was *defensive* on the part of Austria, *offensive* on the part of Russia. And in fact it was the only treaty in force between Russia and Austria till 1756, when Frederick's aggression called it into operation. But I have tried to show that an understanding equivalent to an offensive alliance against Prussia *did* exist, and that both Austria and Russia put down the year 1756 for their attack, and then postponed it till 1757. So that when Frederick in 1756 declared at

Vienna that he knew of the existence of such an offensive alliance, he was only *technically* wrong; and when he asked for an assurance that he would not be attacked that year or next, he was putting his finger on the very centre of the plans formed against him.

But someone may say, What has all this to do with Saxony? This only concerns Russia and Austria. Did Saxony ever agree to the Treaty of St. Petersburg or to the secret article against Prussia? And the only answer is, To neither the one nor the other. Thus much, indeed, the 'Mémoire Raisonné' allows. 'It is true' (says Hertzberg) 'that the Court of Saxony has put off its formal accession to the Treaty of Petersburg from time to time.' Thus in order to make the Saxon Government responsible for the Partition Treaty of 1745 and the Secret Article of 1746, it is necessary to show that the Saxons remained true in spirit to both, and were cognisant of all the Austro-Russian plans against Frederick. This Hertzberg attempts to do by his other citations from Saxon despatches. His next quotation is from the instructions given to Vitzthum and Von Pezold, the Saxon Ministers at the Russian Court. But before the date of these instructions we may refer to the memorandum of the Saxon Privy Council, April 15, 1747, a small part of which Hertzberg quotes, but misdates, probably by a clerical error, as given on *August* 15. This memorandum was the *first* opinion expressed by the Saxon Ministers on the Treaty of St. Petersburg and its secret articles. In their document the Saxon councillors pointed out the singular nature of the Fourth Secret Article, which made the rights of Austria to Silesia revive in case Prussia attacked Russia or Poland, neither of which had taken part in the Silesian wars and the treaties which closed them. The Council expressly stated that Prussia on discovering the secret article would regard it as a breach of the Treaty of Dresden on Saxony's part, and might overwhelm Saxony before any help came. But the memorandum went further than this, though this was all Hertzberg quoted. It recommended the Elector to declare

his readiness to accede to the treaty, or at least to the public part of it, but to demand explanations on the secret articles, and thus to treat the business *in a dilatory manner*, since it was almost as dangerous to refuse as to accept. By dragging the business on it was hoped that Austria would make peace with France and thus be free to help Saxony if menaced by Prussia, and after a peace Saxony might ally herself with Austria without risking her profitable connection with France. On this memorandum follows Hertzberg's No. III.—the Instructions to the Saxon envoys at St. Petersburg, May 23, 1747. Articles 10–12 of this document deal with the famous Fourth Secret Article, declaring that the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, is inclined to accede to it, but must first find out what help Saxony would have to furnish in case a war arose as contemplated in the article, what help she could expect in turn, what troops would be within reach, and what share in the conquests made should be hers? And, as giving an indication of the share Saxony wished to have in case of a conquest of Prussia, reference was made to the convention of Leipzig of 1745, No. I. in Hertzberg. But by Article 13 of their instructions the Saxon envoys were to take every proposal *ad referendum* and conclude nothing. These instructions were followed out by Vitzthum and Von Pezold in their memorandum presented at St. Petersburg, September 25, 1747.

Meanwhile the French Government, which had long been in close connection with Saxony through the Comte de Saxe, French commander-in-chief, and half-brother of the Elector-King, and had lately added another bond of union by the marriage of the Dauphin to a Saxon princess, was naturally jealous of the Austro-Russian proposals. For Austria was still at war with France, and Russia ready to furnish a subsidized army to help Austria. The French protest was met by Brühl, the Saxon Chief Minister, who authorised Count Loos, the Saxon envoy at Paris, to declare (on June 18, 1747) that the Treaty of St. Petersburg contained nothing beyond what was in the copy sent to Paris, that the Saxon

Government knew of no secret articles, but that if there *were* any such, Saxony would never accede to them should they contain anything against France.

Now these statements look rather bad in Hertzberg's quotations, Nos. VIII. and IX. ; for both Loos and Brühl knew all about the secret articles. But I think we must, on reflection, agree with Count Vitzthum that there was no intention of deceiving the French Government. As the secret articles had been confidentially communicated to the Saxon Ministers, the latter were bound not to admit that any such articles existed ; but the hypothetical remark as to these clauses was quite sufficient to show any diplomatist that there were such. To deny a fact and then give a conditional answer in case it should be true, is a well-known diplomatic trick which deceives nobody. Furthermore, the Saxon envoys at St. Petersburg, so far from showing a burning zeal against Prussia, tried to drag the business on as their Government wished ; and Pezold reported, June 17, 1747, that he was glad to say that the Russians themselves were delaying the negotiation, so that time would be gained without his having to waste it. The treaty was not officially communicated to the Saxons till August 25, 1747, the Russian Government having apparently been delayed by a wild suspicion that Prussia and Saxony were really acting in concert. The answering memorandum of the Saxon envoys was not handed in till a month had elapsed. The whole negotiation proves that the Saxon Government had no intention of concluding a treaty. The diplomatic discussion at Vienna as to the division of the possible spoils of Prussia in case the war took place was equally dilatory. And it is quite plain that the Saxon Government did not consider the arrangement of 1745 as still in force. For a despatch of 1747 expresses approval of the Saxon ambassador at St. Petersburg for having declared to the Austrian ambassador there that the Partition Treaty of 1745 was null and void.

In the year 1748 the great negotiation for peace at Aix-la-Chapelle naturally slackened the negotiation between

Austria and Russia on the one hand and Saxony on the other. Saxon Ministers were employed to arrange a separate peace between France and Austria—in which they failed. Not till July 1748 did the Russians answer the Saxon memorandum of September 1747, and their answer was not of a nature to reassure the Saxon Government. The Saxon Privy Council reiterated its former opinion, stating in language which Hertzberg translates, but not accurately, in No. VII. of his citations, that Frederick might probably choose to regard the accession of Saxony to the Fourth Secret Article as a breach of the Treaty of Dresden. The Council therefore recommended caution and a temporising policy. This advice Hertzberg, who had his thesis to support, naturally treated as the protest of faithful advisers against the fatal and tortuous policy of Count Brühl; but the documents do not bear out his view. The plan of the Privy Council *was* the course which the public policy of Saxony really followed.

The question of the accession of Saxony to the Treaty of St. Petersburg assumed a new phase when England acceded to that treaty—a course which was only proposed in 1749. At first the Duke of Newcastle was inclined to accede to the secret articles, but the other English Ministers overruled his wishes, and when, in October 1749, they declared themselves ready to sign the alliance, it was only the body of the treaty that George II. would agree to, and that only as King of England, not as Elector of Hanover. England now pressed Saxony to accede to the alliance, for Newcastle with his usual fussy eagerness wanted to form a great defensive league in Central Europe. But Count Brühl replied in November 1749 that he preferred *not* to accede unless good terms could be obtained, including a subsidy from England. Without this, he declared, the defensive alliances already existing between Saxony and Austria and between Saxony and Russia would be sufficient.

Russia now again began to press for the Saxon accession, but Saxony still hung back. The instructions to General von Arnim, the new Saxon envoy to St. Petersburg, are like

those given to Vitzthum and Pezold. But the General was to find out whether accession to the treaty *without* the secret articles would be sufficient. It was not till October 1750 that England acceded to the alliance, and then only as a sop to Russia, which had some cause for offence in the way her subsidised army had been thrown aside by England. But the Saxon negotiation still hung fire, and in July 1751 we find Brühl writing to Paris that only a beginning had been made with the discussion, while a month later the Elector-King declares himself ready to agree to the treaty on the same terms as George II. had done.

In 1753 a rupture was threatened between Prussia and Saxony over the payment of Saxon paper money held by Prussian subjects; and again Saxony turned to the allies of St. Petersburg. But here again the secret articles proved an obstacle. The Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg had orders to insist on these as a necessary condition; and when Brühl wrote to Funck, the Saxon *chargé d'affaires* at St. Petersburg, about the alliance, Funck replied that the accession of Saxony and Hanover to the treaty seemed almost *forgotten* in Russia. And the quarrel with Prussia being now settled by a convention, Saxony once more dropped the alliance question.

Why had Austria and Russia thus dropped the Saxon Court and ceased to trouble about its accession? The answer sounds paradoxical; but I believe it was *because* in 1753 the Austro-Russian Alliance assumed a more offensive cast (at least on the Russian side) against Prussia. It was in that year that the Russian Grand Council, on May 14 and 15, resolved that it was necessary to reduce Prussia to her old powerless condition, to keep 60,000 men in Livonia, and, in concert with Austria and Saxony if possible, to attack Frederick, if thought advisable. The despatch of Funck from which Frederick knew of this was not printed in the 'Mémoire Raisonné,' for at the time that document was published Frederick suppressed as far as possible all reference to Russia, in the hope that England might still be able to keep

that power quiet. In fact, Mitchell, writing from Berlin to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams at St. Petersburg, and enclosing a copy of the 'Mémoire,' says: 'I am told care has been taken to say as little as possible of your (*i.e.* the Russian) Court.' Funck's despatch, however, was printed in a second Prussian pamphlet, a reply to animadversions on the 'Mémoire Raisonné.'

I have now gone through the question of the alliance of St. Petersburg, and shown that Saxony was not a party to it. What, then, do the proofs accumulated by Hertzberg amount to in substance?

1. Evidence of the hostility of Austria and Russia towards Prussia, as shown by the Treaty of St. Petersburg and other documents. But we have seen that to this alliance, whether from fear, prudence, or indolence, the Saxon Government declined to accede.

2. Evidence that Count Brühl disseminated rumours to the discredit of Prussia, especially with a view of fostering Russian hostility to Frederick. The passages quoted as proving this are not disputed by Vitzthum, and may be taken as accurate; but there was nothing unusual in such a course, nor is there now. I should imagine, for instance, that Russia at the present day omits no opportunity to persuade the Shah of the insidious designs of England, or *vice versâ*; but this is one of the commonplaces of diplomacy.

3. Evidence of Russian enmity to Prussia, collected from Funck's despatches home. But here Funck is little more than a reporter, sending word to his master as his duty was. And the sympathy shown by Saxony to these Russian plans was inevitable, even had Saxony no cause of quarrel with Prussia; for the Saxon King of Poland was almost entirely dependent on Russian support.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that against Saxony Frederick had no diplomatic *casus belli*. Saxony had not only made no agreement to attack him, but had sedulously avoided even concluding an alliance that might rouse his wrath. In short, Saxony might, and doubtless did,

hate him, but feared him too much to do anything of consequence. And of the plans of a coalition against Frederick the Saxon Government knew comparatively little from Russia, and next to nothing from Austria.

Therefore, as between Prussia and Saxony merely, Frederick's action was unjustified and unjustifiable. We must look to other considerations for his excuse. But nevertheless it is very likely that he *believed* Saxony to be deeper in the plans against him than she really was, and that he thought, if his evidence was weak, that Brühl had been skilful in concealing the traces of his work. Still we must look elsewhere for Frederick's real reason and excuse; and this, I believe, is to be found simply in *military* considerations. His diplomatic pretexts for the invasion were an afterthought, and he probably meant them rather to convince others than to support himself. The 'Mémoire Raisonné' is not unlike the declaration which Hertzberg also drew up in defence of Prussia's claims to part of Poland. The Saxon question was turned over to Hertzberg in much the same way as afterwards the Polish question. Frederick invaded Saxony, as he annexed West Prussia, for reasons good and sufficient to himself; then he tossed Hertzberg a bundle of documents, and bade him make the best case he could of them. Hertzberg, as we have seen, did not wholly believe in the 'Mémoire Raisonné,' and it is quite certain that he did not even pretend to believe in the Prussian rights over Poland.

But the occupation of Saxony was a military measure, and only to be defended by military considerations. What confirmed me in this opinion was a research I made in the papers and letters of Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English ambassador, one of the few men whom Frederick the Great respected and trusted. Frederick was constantly conferring with him about the danger from Russia and Austria, and the designs of the two Imperial Courts, and Mitchell expected till the last moment that the Prussian army would move to Silesia, and strike at Bohemia and Moravia from the north-east. Only just *at the last moment* Frederick told him that

the march was through Saxony, and put him off with vague talk about the designs of Brühl. Mitchell was evidently perplexed about the action towards Saxony; for in the famous interview with Mitchell before the march, Frederick spoke only of his military plans. Neither Mitchell nor Lord Holdernessee, the English Foreign Secretary, seems to have known anything about any Saxon designs against Frederick, though they knew much of Austrian and Saxon designs. They had to take their cue from the 'Mémoire Raisonné.' Though I have carefully consulted the correspondence between Mitchell and Holdernessee, I can find nothing about Saxony till the actual outbreak of hostilities; nor did Mitchell hear anything of moment from Lord Stormont, the English Minister at Dresden. In fact, so far as the English state papers go, the Saxon plots against Prussia are not to be seen.

I feel compelled, therefore, to conclude that, though Frederick probably believed more in Saxon hostility than was warranted by what proofs he had, his action in the invasion was prompted chiefly by military reasons; and the 'Mémoire Raisonné' is the attempt of a diplomatist to justify the measures of a soldier. It was meant to satisfy those numerous persons who understood something of policy but nothing of arms. Had Frederick merely declared that he occupied Saxony for military reasons, he would have been held up to opprobrium, much as the English Government was for taking possession of the Danish fleet in 1807. Discovering the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, by which France was to be free to use the Danish fleet against England, the English invaded Denmark, and, on the refusal of the Danes to surrender their fleet, bombarded Copenhagen and carried off the ships. Frederick's invasion of Saxony was prompted by similar motives, and rested on similar reasons. The question to be considered in discussing each case is this: Was the danger serious enough to constitute a case of military necessity?

Now it is beyond doubt that from Saxony *alone* Frederick ran no risk. Saxony was too weak, her Government too cow-

ardly, to do anything serious. His danger was that Saxony might be used against him by Austria and Russia. Thus, if Austria and Russia were not intending to attack him his action has no justification. He undoubtedly believed that he was to be assailed in 1757 for certain, and possibly in 1756. Vitzthum in his '*Geheimnisse des Sächsischen Cabinets*,' and the Duc de Broglie in his '*Secret du Roi*,' and, with less confidence, in a later work on the '*Causes of the Seven Years' War*,' assert that this was not the case. But the matter is, to my mind, placed beyond doubt by Von Arneth, the historian of Maria Theresa, who proves from despatches that both Austria and Russia had designed to attack Prussia in 1756 and only put off the assault till 1757 to be surer. Von Arneth admits that he does not see how Frederick could have avoided war next year; and considers that he would have been justified in attacking Austria—except in so far as the cause of enmity was his own original unjust aggression on Silesia. But Von Arneth points out that Frederick had no cause for quarrel with Saxony, and therefore no right to invade that country.

Let us concede, therefore, that Frederick was right in expecting attack from Austria and Russia in 1757, and was justified in forestalling that attack by striking a blow at Austria. Why should he want to occupy Saxony? Was it necessary for attack or defence?

Now in assailing Austria Frederick had practically a choice of two routes. He might invade Moravia and advance towards Vienna; or he might push into Bohemia and capture Prague. In either case his aim was to strike a blow which should force Maria Theresa to make peace—or at least to place himself before winter in a position from which such a blow could be struck in the spring of 1757, before the Russians and French could come to help their allies. Jomini and some other military critics have blamed Frederick for not attacking from Silesia and pushing through Moravia straight on Vienna. But the operations of war were by no means so speedy in Frederick's day as to make this a safe course. Frederick

could not begin operations till late in the year ; he might not be able to overcome opposition so completely as to reach Vienna, and by the Moravian route, if he did not reach Vienna he had done nothing. Olmütz had recently been strengthened by the Austrians ; Brünn, another fortress, lay on his path. He had failed to take Brünn in 1742, and he failed to take Olmütz in 1758. His line of advance through Moravia was exposed in flank to the incursions of Hungarian light troops ; and if his attack failed he was driven back into Silesia. If, again, he attacked Bohemia from the east, his line of communication was long, exposed, difficult, and flanked by Saxon territory. If the Saxons, as in 1744, took the Austrian side (and the defensive alliance of 1743, under which they had done so, still remained in force), his line of retreat was menaced on one side by the Austrians, on the other by the Saxons. He had experienced this state of affairs in 1744, when he was driven ignominiously from Bohemia and almost ruined. And whether he invaded Bohemia or Moravia from Silesia, he was, in case of his attack failing, condemned to a painful defence of his own exposed territory. Further, what if Saxony declared against him, and, while he was with his army in Moravia or Bohemia, marched her own troops or gave passage to the Austrian forces to attack Berlin ? Saxony then was twice its present size. The Saxon frontier was only forty English miles from Berlin, or two moderate marches. There were no mountains, no great rivers, no strong fortresses to guard Berlin from an army marching on it from the south. The great rivers of Prussia all run northward. The Elbe, so far from proving an obstacle, would float the invaders and their supplies easily down to the Prussian frontier.

But, it may be said, if Frederick were set on attacking Bohemia, why not pass through Saxony peaceably, without seizing on the country ? The answer is, that he had tried this course in 1744, and it had gone near to ruin him. He had marched his forces at once through Saxony and Silesia and had taken Prague ; and then the Saxons had stopped his communications by the Elbe, sent a contingent to join the

Austrians, and driven him to the long and perilous line of retreat on Silesia. Frederick declared, even when entering Saxony in 1756, that he was firmly resolved not to be treated in the same way as in 1744.

He felt bound, therefore, while attacking Bohemia, to secure himself against all hostility from Saxony. To do this, he must take military possession of the country, and render the Saxon army incapable of hurting him. The means he took to this end were at once unjust and impolitic; he forced the Saxons to enlist in his army, thus incurring much odium, and gaining no military advantage—for these forced recruits deserted at the first opportunity. Yet it was difficult to know what to do with them. Had he left them as an organised force in Saxony, they might have cut off his retreat in case of a disaster. If he let them go, they joined the Austrians; if he disbanded them, they might soon be called together again. Besides, he had been led by his confidant, Winterfeld, who had been visiting Saxony recently, to believe that the Saxons would readily serve in the Prussian army.

We have seen that if Frederick intended to make a dash on Vienna defeat would mean ruin for him unless he were sure of Saxony. But it is fairly certain that he had no such idea. His plan was fully stated to Mitchell before he marched. Frederick meant to concentrate his troops at Pirna (not expecting the Saxons to hold out there), then march up the Elbe, which would be his line of supply, drive the Austrians from Northern Bohemia, and winter there. He did not even expect to take Prague. To avoid the possibility of French or Russian interference, Frederick had fixed on the end of August for the beginning of operations. This gave him only two clear months, for the Bohemian roads became almost impracticable in November. Thus occupying, as he intended to do, the northern strip of Bohemia, his position was obviously untenable unless Saxony were his; while, once sure of Saxony, he had a safe retreat if defeated in his expedition, and could hold the mountain barrier of Bohemia against an Austrian counter-attack.

So much, then, for the *offensive*. But for *defence* the possession of Saxony was still more vital. If Frederick's stroke at Austria failed to secure peace, he would be attacked—as in fact he was—by Austria, Russia, France, the Empire, and Sweden. Now the possession of Saxony by Frederick gave him two great advantages for defence. It gave him a country far more fertile than most of his own dominions as a source of supply; and it gave him a defensible position on that side where his own state lay most dangerously open. Macaulay says truly that Frederick's long, straggling, disconnected dominions seemed made to favour invasion. East Prussia was entirely isolated in Poland, and could not be saved from a serious Russian attack. Silesia straggled out to the south-east, only connected with Brandenburg by a narrow neck, with Poland, almost a Russian province, on one side of the neck, and the Saxon Lausitz on the other. Now to lose Silesia was for Frederick to lose everything. It was not only the richest of his possessions, but it was the fruit of his victories, the pledge and symbol of the greatness of Prussia. Its loss would mean the return of the House of Brandenburg to more than its old insignificance. But not only did Saxony, held by an enemy, imperil Silesia; it threatened the Mark of Brandenburg, the kernel of the Prussian monarchy. Saxony slopes northward from the mountains that part it from Bohemia till its picturesque hills die away into the great Prussian plain. The country is full of strong positions. Dresden could be held well against a short siege, as was often proved. In 1756, with a threefold superiority of force, Frederick had to starve the Saxons out of Pirna. Kesselsdorf, Torgau, Plauen, were positions of noted, almost impregnable, strength. At the lowest of his fortunes Frederick held some of Saxony; yet when the Austrians were once set fast there he could never drive them out again. What would have been the result had he allowed Austrian troops to occupy the whole or even a part of Saxony at the beginning of the war? And certainly the Elector-King, who did not dare to refuse Prussian troops a passage, would not have placed any obstacle in the

way of an Austrian army. When safely defended from Prussian attack, the Saxons would probably have joined the coalition. Frederick had not been a good neighbour to them, and his overthrow would save Saxony from constant fear and danger, revenge her past disasters, and give her an accession of territory, perhaps the much-coveted road to Poland. The Russian and Austrian Governments did wisely in not pressing Saxony to join their league too soon. They were sure of her help, if they could once get the upper hand.

To sum up the questions discussed in my paper, I think we may conclude—

1. That Frederick was justified in anticipating the attack of his enemies, by himself taking the offensive.

2. That if he had attacked Austria without securing Saxony and the Elbe, his enterprise would have run great risk of a disastrous failure.

3. That if defeated in his attack on Austria, the omission to secure Saxony would have been fatal to him.

4. That during the Seven Years' War the possession of the strong positions and rich resources of Saxony only just enabled Frederick to hold out against his enemies until their coalition fell asunder.

Thus, by sheer military necessity, Frederick the Great was justified in occupying Saxony in 1756, much as we may, and indeed must, condemn the unwise and unnecessary brutality with which that measure was carried out.

SPOLA.

EASTER DAY IN ROME, 1849. A LINK IN
THE CHAIN OF ITALIAN UNITY.

By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R. Hist. S.

THE aspirations of which Mazzini was the exponent are now, impossible as they once seemed, an accomplished fact. That they are so shows, not that the intellect and will-power of Mazzini were able to revolutionise the prevalent thought and opinion of his countrymen, but that the ideas which had taken so firm a hold on Mazzini's mind found an echo in a large number of minds of the higher order throughout Italy. It is doubtful whether any human being ever really changes the course of national opinion, however great may be his powers of thought, oratory, and persuasion. National (as well as cosmical) opinions arise spontaneously and often simultaneously, remaining long dormant for want of adequate expression, yet ever gaining in intensity and immutability. After a time, however, there arises one who clothes them in words of equal intensity, and he is at once recognised as the national leader of thought. This was the case with Mazzini. Italian unity was a great national movement, firmly rooted in the minds of large numbers of Italians, perhaps for centuries past ; but if we want to define this movement, and examine the process of its development, we can only see it as it existed in the mind and found expression in the language of Mazzini.

That Mazzini did not create the opinion of the country, but only gave expression to opinions already formed, is made

manifest by the result. The great central ideas of Mazzini were three in number, equal, he considered, in importance, equal in the hold they possessed on his mind, and equal in the power of words with which he enforced them. With him they were interdependent. One could not exist without the other. Yet two have been accomplished and one has not. In the former he represented the views of his countrymen, in the latter he represented chiefly his own.

The two first were *unity* and *freedom*, the third *Republicanism*. Italy is united, Italy is free, but Italy is not a Republic. The first two ideas were national, the third was Mazzinian. If, for a time, it appeared to be national, it was in appearance only, this appearance being due to a temporary irritation caused by the folly and shortsightedness of Charles Albert. The talent and capacity of his son, Victor Emmanuel, soon brought about its return to oblivion.

With the aspirations for Italian freedom, the English people have ever had the deepest and fullest sympathy. On the aspiration for Italian unity they have looked with indifference, if not with contempt. Yet the two were considered by all the great Italian Reformers to be inseparable, and later events have shown that they were so. England, united for centuries, and surrounded by a wall of sea, can hardly realise the evils which attend a number of small adjacent states in a condition of armed neutrality, and surrounded by more powerful neighbours. Great extension of territory has been seen to lead to, and often to necessitate, a military despotism, and it has therefore been taken for granted that small countries are more conducive to freedom than large ones. But a country may be too small and too feeble to acquire or sustain its freedom. There can, indeed, be little doubt that the happiness of a people is best secured in a state which is too small to sustain an important foreign policy and a large standing army to drain its resources, and at the same time too large to be in constant danger of annihilation. At any rate, the Italians can understand their own affairs better than other nations can teach them. They have gained both freedom and unity,

although many of the Italians themselves looked upon the latter as a hopeless vision ; and now, looking back on the events by the light of history we can see that without a strong and united Italy, freedom would sooner or later have given place to petty tyranny. We must, therefore, speak of Italian freedom in terms of unity, and, reading the history of Italian aspirations by the light of accomplished facts, assume that the greater contains the less, viz., that whatever may have been the forces by which liberty was first achieved, it was this consolidation by which it attained permanence and stability.

If there ever was a time when the cause of Italian unity trembled in the balance it was in the beginning of the year 1849. The events of this period cannot be looked at impartially. To the friends of Italian unity they are the heroic struggles of an enslaved, down-trodden, and long-suffering people against an ecclesiastical tyranny of the worst kind, which human forbearance could no longer sustain without resistance. To the Ultramontanes they are simply 'the horrible incidents of the Revolution of 1849—the profanity, the diabolic hatred of all holy things, the cruel torture and butchery of priests as the ministers and friends of God.'¹ Between these two extreme views I must confess I see no middle way. We must accept the one or the other ; and if Italian Romanists, with minds fettered by the influence of centuries of ecclesiastical tyranny, can accept the former, English Protestants will have little difficulty in following them.

'There are three great questions' (says Mr. Gladstone, in his preface to Farini's 'Roman State'), 'which have successively exercised the Italian mind since the Peace of 1815. Till the death of Pope Gregory XVI. the question was whether the temporal power could be perpetuated on its old basis. From the accession of Pius IX. in 1846 to his restoration in 1849 it was whether any effectual papal sovereignty at all was

¹ *Dublin Review* for 1878, page 255. Review on Hassard's *Life of Pope Pius IX.*

compatible with constitutional freedom and the reform of abuses. After the latter event it was whether the temporal power had sufficient stability to reconstruct itself, and to stand alone when thus reconstructed. All these questions, time and national opinion have answered in the negative. Italy is now a free and united country, and he must be a bold man who would say that this result was brought about by a fortuitous concomitance of individual mistakes.'

The policy of Pope Gregory XVI. few will now venture to uphold. It was opposed during his lifetime by many, both laymen and ecclesiastics, conspicuous among the latter being Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti. But that fatal combination of moral cowardice, conservatism, and lethargy which attacks popes as well as kings, fell upon Pope Pius IX. In the words of Mr. Masson, in a Memoir of Mazzini written shortly after his death, 'how strange to remember now the accession of Pius IX. to the Papedom in 1846, and the subsequent news, in 1847 and 1848, that he was proving himself, by act after act, a rarity among popes, bent on reforming his states and governing constitutionally. What hopes, what speculations, over the new Pontificate! Pshaw! ere men had learnt the new Pope's name, down went he, and all the hopes clustered round him, in a universal vortex.'¹ It was not until 1848, two years after his accession, that he was induced to grant a so-called Liberal constitution. This constitution was embodied in an act called the 'Fundamental Statute,' and was, in reality, a mere burlesque of a limited monarchy. It consisted, it is true, in form, of King, Lords, and Commons, like our own, but two important provisos entirely destroyed its freedom of action. The first was that all Bills must pass through the Sacred College of Cardinals, and be subject to its veto; the second was that no Bill was even allowed to be sent up to the Upper House which touched in any way upon 'mixed matter,' or was contrary to the ecclesiastical canons. As every political subject in the Papal States was more or less 'mixed,' and as the canons had already given decisions relating to almost

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine* for April, 1872.

every conceivable event, it is difficult to see what work could have been left for this Parliament to do.

The granting of this 'fundamental statute,' imperfect as it was, was due, in no small degree, to the fiery eloquence of the Barnabite monk, Alessandro Gavazzi. If Mazzini sowed the seeds of Italian unity in the minds of the intelligent and thoughtful, Gavazzi scattered them among the masses, and worked upon the emotional nature of his countrymen. The philosophy of Mazzini would have worked slowly but for the emotion stirred up by Gavazzi, and the enthusiasm kindled by Gavazzi would have died out but for the intellectual support given to it by the disciples of Mazzini. In an essentially religious country like Italy, aspirations of a neutral tint, like Mazzini's, do not take on a rapid growth without an appeal to religious sentiment.

In November, 1848, the national aspirations to which Mazzini and the Giovine Italia gave a local habitation and a name, had reached their climax. Their manifestations were so patent to all, even in Rome itself, that the city became, in common parlance, 'too hot,' and Pope Pius IX. fled to Naples. This was the first visible indication to the world at large that Mazzini and the Giovine Italia Association were not a mere clique of hair-brained conspirators, but the exponents of a wide-spread national feeling. An Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, the temporal authority of the Pope was abolished, and Rome became, by the freewill of the people, for the first time since the days of Octavius Cæsar, a Republic.¹

Meanwhile, as was naturally to be expected, a reaction was setting in, and of this the clerical party did not fail to take advantage to the utmost. The sorrows and sufferings of the Holy Father, driven from home and deprived of his kingdom, naturally excited wide-spread feelings of sympathy.

¹ The Republic of 1798 was by no means either free or representative. It was forced upon the Romans by Napoleon's army, and supported from within only by the most lawless demagogues. The contrast is very striking between the voluntary exile of Pius IX. and the forcible abduction of his plucky old predecessors Pius VI. and Pius VII.

But the great hope of reaction lay in the appeal to the religious sentiment of the country. This, as we have seen, had been done, and done successfully, by the Liberals. Gavazzi, by his preaching, had turned the cause into a crusade, and had suffered persecution in consequence. Banished from Piedmont by Charles Albert, suspended from preaching, and then confined for eighteen months in a convent by Gregory XVI., again forbidden to preach even by Pope Pius IX., and again imprisoned, he was at last, by the same Pope, appointed Chaplain-General of the Legion. And now the Pope himself was in exile, and exciting sympathy on his own account. Now, if ever, was the time for the Conservatives to prove to the people that, as they had always told them, the friends of Italian unity were the enemies of religion; that, in spite of their constant protestations, in spite of a certain religious flavour given to the movement by some of the Mazzinian preachers, the whole thing was a sham; that their real object was to deprive them of their religion, and that the loss of the temporal power of the Pope meant the loss of all their spiritual blessings, of all the means of grace, of all those special religious privileges which the Catholic subjects of the Pope, indeed all true Catholics, hold so dear.

Such an attempt, indeed, was really made, and the appeal was a powerful one, and one likely to succeed with the masses, who are led by emotion rather than by reason. As Farini says, speaking of Mazzini and his followers during their period of ascendancy, 'they should reflect that, if the accomplishment of their plans be now opposed by perjured kings, slavish ministers, potent armies, barbarous strangers, worldly-minded priests, when they come to assail the Catholic religion, they will have against them the masses, who will brook, perhaps, any and every oppression except that which tramples on religious conscience.'¹

The centre-point of religious privilege and ceremonial in Rome is the celebration of the High Mass on Easter Day and

¹ *The Roman State.* By Luigi Carlo Farini, vol. iii. p. 362. Gladstone's translation.

the subsequent Benediction of the people by the Pope in the presence of the Holy Elements. Easter Day 1849 (April 8) was approaching, and the Pope had been absent from Rome five months. To the events of this day the friends of the Republic were looking forward with anxiety, the friends of the temporal power with confident hope of a reaction, followed perhaps, by a revolution which would overturn the Republic and establish public feeling on the side of the papal power for many years to come.

The Republic was alive to the danger. Pope or no Pope, the Mass must be celebrated and the Benediction pronounced. But the priests with one consent refused to celebrate. Of the ethics of this matter we are not called upon to judge. That the motive was in part a political one can hardly be denied. But is this the first time that a religious observance has been made to serve political ends? I think I may say that there were some among the friends of the Republic whose primary motive was the desire that the people should not lose the great spiritual privilege to which, in former years, they had been accustomed. On the other hand, were all their opponents entirely unbiassed by political motives when they refused to perform the function?

The event I must give in the words of Farini; and so clear, comprehensive, and liberal-minded a view does Farini usually take of the various situations, so well does he distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal power, so accurate an estimate does he make of the character of the leading men of the century, that one almost regrets to differ from some of his conclusions in this matter. Yet that his views were sometimes contracted by national party prejudice is shown by the fact that he looked upon the unity of Italy as a wild vision of enthusiasm impossible of attainment.

His account is as follows:

'Easter Day arrived; and the Triumvirs commanded the Canons of St. Peter's to make ready the same magnificent function that it is usual for the Vicar of Christ to celebrate; and when these ministers of God refused, as they were bound,

to act the part of political show-masters, they found a priest who was an army chaplain, under interdict as some believed, and him they caused to celebrate episcopally (as it is called) at one of the four altars of St. Peter's, at which only the Pontiff and the Dean of the Sacred College appointed by Papal Bull are authorised to perform Mass. The church was in all its festal array; the Triumvirs were present, with a number of Deputies and public officers, the clubs, the Tuscan, Swiss, American, and English consuls; military music played. When Mass was over the priest went in procession to the great balcony of the Basilica from which the Pope ordinarily gives his blessing to his Catholic people. Amidst the flags of the Republic he bore the Holy Sacrament; and he blessed the kneeling multitude in the wide Piazza amidst the pealing of cannon and of bells; Mazzini then appeared in the balcony, and plaudits were given for the Republic. Those who saw the spectacle (and I was one), reflected sorrowfully on this cursed hypocrisy, and how a people not dieted with solid and masculine religion becomes the prey of every description of hypocrite. The priest, Dall' Ongaro, in the "*Monitore Romano*," denominated that celebration the "New Pasch," magnified the Republic, through which a free people had been blessed by Christ in Sacrament, and thus ended his panegyric: "There lacked the Vicar of Christ; but by no fault of ours; and though he was away, we had the people, and we had God!"¹

As we read this outburst of holy indignation we wonder by what pious means the temporal power was first acquired and held for eleven centuries. Had religious observances never been employed to serve political ends? Were not the friends of the temporal power even now employing weapons not altogether secular to bring about its restoration? To an unprejudiced observer the charge simply amounts to this, that in the desire not to break through an established religious custom, certain members of the Government may have been biassed by ulterior political considerations. The whole force

¹ *The Roman State*, vol. iii. p. 358. Gladstone's translation.

of the accusation depends upon the motive, and Farini can no more read the motives of every member of the Constituent Assembly of Rome than of the Sacred College of Cardinals.

It is not, however, to the provisional government of Rome, nor the difficulties and motives of its members, but to the personality of the celebrating priest himself, that I wish now to direct attention.

The priest in question, whose name is not mentioned by Farini, was Emilio Luigi Spola, of Vercelli. He has been described to me by an Englishman who knew him intimately for many years, as 'one of the brightest, purest spirits it has been my fortune to know.'

Spola was born in 1805. His career in the Church, which can be traced from the year 1840, when he was only thirty-five, was an active, successful, and highly promising one.¹ But for his self-sacrifice in acting as he did, he would, in all probability, have become a Cardinal. In his case, at least, the motive could have been nothing else than a stern sense of duty and love to his country. His own personal interests would have led him with almost irresistible force, whatever might be the temporal position of the Pope, to maintain his ecclesiastical relations. At the very time when he threw in his lot with the friends of Italian freedom he was awaiting the result of a petition forwarded to the Pope in February, 1848, humbly begging to be admitted to the Prelature.

The aspersions which Farini endeavours to cast upon Spola, with the view, apparently, of discrediting the action of the Republic, appear extremely trivial; the only one which is even of technical importance being so ill-sustained that it has, as it stands, all the appearance of a pure fabrication.

1. In the first place, Spola was not the Pope. That so high a function should be performed by anyone except the Holy Father seems to Farini an act of sacrilege. It is difficult to trace the state of mind which leads to this conclusion in one who, like Farini, was no friend to the temporal power.

¹ *Vide* Nos. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. and vii. of the appended documents.

The Pope, by the natural course of political events, was away from Rome. It would seem, in Farini's eyes, to be better that the Easter Mass should be left uncelebrated, that the people should be deprived of their cherished observances, and, at the same time, that the risk should be run of a restoration of the temporal power, an event which he admits to be an evil, than that the Mass should be celebrated by anyone but the Pope. At this altar, he says, only the Pope and the Dean of the Sacred College are *authorised* to perform Mass; but this was a matter of custom only, not of ecclesiastical law. Spola was in *full priestly orders*, and he was duly *authorised* by the Government which then held possession.¹ This was no case of a layman celebrating Mass, which might be considered sacrilege, but of a fully-ordained priest, who was perfectly competent to perform Mass, and to pronounce a benediction in the presence of the elements which he had himself consecrated.²

2. Secondly, we are told that Spola was, or had been, an army chaplain. This mild impeachment we may admit, without at the same time admitting all that appears to follow it. An army chaplain is not necessarily a friend to war, nor does he lose his priestly sanctity by having to minister to dying soldiers instead of luxurious citizens. Spola, however, had only joined the army about a twelvemonth before, and it was by this very act of self-sacrifice, for such it was, that he first publicly avowed his enthusiasm for the cause of Italian unity and independence. An English Protestant can hardly appreciate the greatness of the sacrifice which this entailed. In the words of a memoir drawn up by Mr. J. C. Redish, of Liverpool,³ about ten years ago, when Spola was desirous of

¹ It may not be irrelevant to mention that the Government in question had turned Farini out of office, and that this may have unconsciously influenced his opinion as to its action in other matters. For usually he takes a broad and liberal view of things: he was a man of science, a member of the medical profession, with no special ecclesiastical bias, and apparently but little tainted with superstition.

² *Vide* Nos. xiii. xiv. xv. of the appended documents.

³ The present possessor of the documents relating to Spola, a copy of which is appended, and to whom I am indebted for many of the facts of his history.

returning to his native country, he, 'animated by his love for his country, voluntarily renounced all the benefits of a long career towards the Prelature by inscribing himself, at the suggestion of General Durando, as a chaplain to the first Roman Legion.' The Memoir goes on to state his services while he held this chaplaincy as follows :

'Marching at the head of the troops, he made the journey on foot from Rome to Vicenza (about four hundred miles), to encourage the people and the young men to take part in the expedition.

'His visits to the sick and wounded in the military hospitals, in all parts of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Venetia, and Vicenza were frequent and regular ; and he rendered many particular services to the wounded at Cornuda, who were brought from Montebellerno to Treviso during the nights of May 9 and 10, 1848, affording them every possible help, spiritually as well as corporally, helping to place them in carts, and walking beside them the whole night to Treviso, where he assisted in removing them to the hospital, as also in their accommodation.

'At Vicenza, among the many who drew their last breath with him by their side, was Colonel-Commandant Delgrande, of Rome, who died in his arms at the barricades of Porta Padova, wounded in the left side by an enemy's rocket. The body had been brought from there to the hospital of the town, with others, about three o'clock P.M. on June 10, 1848. The said chaplain, Dr. Spola, having at the same time to assist many others wounded and dying.

'On the following day, being the day after the honourable capitulation, he received an order from Colonel Galletti, who succeeded the deceased Colonel Delgrande in command, and who was already on horseback ready to leave Vicenza with the Legion and troops, to take the body of Colonel Delgrande and conduct it to Rome. The execution of this order, though most difficult of accomplishment, on account of the distance to the hospital, the want of transport, and the scarcity of time, was nevertheless obeyed by the said chaplain. He went to

the hospital, and from a heap of almost naked dead he succeeded in withdrawing the body of Colonel Delgrande, and in carrying it away. He regained the last conveyance of the first Legion by passing through the files of the enemy, and this without being discovered. On the journey he placed the body in a mourning conveyance, expressly constructed to meet the exigencies of the long, heavy, and mountainous road, in which he finally brought it to Rome, where a grand funeral took place, with all honours, civil and military ; and then the body of Colonel Delgrande, who died at Porta Padova, in Vicenza, was deposited in its last sepulchre at Rome, by the chaplain, Dr. Spola, who renounced all recompense for his services.

‘On November 14, 1848, the medal of honour was conferred upon him by the Commune of Rome, with the brevet, signed by the Senator T. Corsini, for the battle of the first Legion of Rome at Vicenza.’¹

‘At the time of the two French expeditions against Rome, being actuated solely by a spirit of patriotism and Christian charity, he lent uninterrupted assistance to the courageous defenders of the walls, and at the points most threatened, taking particular care of the patriot victims.’

The above statement, which appears to be fully borne out by the appended documents, is, I think, sufficient to show that if Spola was, or had been, an army chaplain, he was no disgrace either to the army he served or to the priesthood he represented.²

Meanwhile, it is not impertinent to ask, in view of the imputations against the supporters of Italian unity, what was the polemical policy of the Pope’s party? It was one of intriguing to re-enslave the country by the aid of Austrian tyranny. There can be little doubt that the Pope from the first had connived at the Austrian intervention. He had nominally consented to the expedition against the Austrians, had given his blessing to the cause of Independence, and

¹ *Vide*, on this subject, Nos. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. of the documents.

² *Vide* No. xi. of the appended documents.

promised more material assistance, and had, moreover, appointed Gavazzi, the great apostle of the crusade, chaplain-general. The promised assistance, however, was not forthcoming; and when, after the defeat of Charles Albert by Radetzky at Treviso and Cornuda, the Pope no longer concealed his philo-Austrian feelings, his Roman subjects began to think they had been betrayed, and his escape from Rome and attempted flight to Majorca were the direct result of the indignation arising from this cause. Whether this burst of indignation was fully justified by the facts of the case we cannot say, but subsequent events seem to indicate that it was. When the Pope was at Gaeta, Cardinal Antonelli told Martini (the ambassador of Charles Albert), to the latter's intense disgust, that he confidently expected the intervention of the Austrian power, nominally in defence of the Church, but in reality in order to crush by force of arms the independence of Italy.¹

3. Thirdly, it is stated that Spola was under an interdict. This indictment, however terrible it may have appeared to Italian readers, loses its force when translated into the English language and looked at with English eyes. Yet even if we were to look at it from an Ultramontane point of view, it is so qualified that we should be obliged to abandon the charge. If Mr. Gladstone's translation conveys the true meaning of the writer, which there can be no reason to doubt, the latter did not himself believe the statement. The important qualification, 'as some believe,' clearly implies that he was not of the number. Who the believers were, and whether they expressed their belief either in writing or in speech, are matters on which the author does not enlighten us. There is no hint of any evidence on the subject, and the internal evidence of the documents seems to be entirely against the truth of the statement. Spola himself stated, when in England, that he had never been condemned, tried, or cited before any tribunal, ecclesiastical or civil, in his life.² This, I think, disposes of

¹ *The Roman State*, vol. iii.

² The certificate of the Sacristan of the Church of the Sacred Wounds of

the charge so far as it relates to anything which occurred *before* the events of Easter Day, 1849. What may have taken place *afterwards*, or what decrees may have been pronounced *in consequence of* these events is, of course, entirely beside the question. Even assuming, however, the truth of Farini's statement, which is a very large assumption, it loses much of its importance when we look at the state of the ecclesiastical atmosphere. At a time when excommunications and interdicts were coming down like hailstones, it was difficult to prognosticate on whom they might fall, or even to tell on whom they had fallen. They fell on all sorts and conditions of men. The Pope, at Gaeta, issued a monitory against the Constituent Assembly at Rome *en masse*, thus destroying any hope his supporters might have of maintaining the temporal power. Nor was this all, for he anathematised all, friends and foes alike, who took any part in the elections. The effect of this act, of course, fell chiefly on his friends, and, as a natural result, the Assembly, when elected, consisted almost entirely of his avowed enemies.¹

It was by such policy as this that the Pope prepared the way for the final collapse of the temporal power, which could only be maintained so long as the accomplishment of Italian unity was artificially retarded by the presence of a foreign army.

Had Pius IX. favoured the aspirations of his fellow-countrymen and subjects after unity and independence, the popular voice would have been too strong for the opponents of the temporal power. But he pursued an opposite course. He granted a constitution which was in reality a myth; he relied for support on hostile arms while professing patriotism; and finally he took up an irreconcilable attitude in respect to the provisional government which his absence rendered

S. Francesco (No. xvii. of the appended documents) that he had celebrated Mass in that Church for five years previously, seems fully to confirm this.

¹ This Assembly, which was elected by universal suffrage, met on February 5, 1849, Faletti, who had the character of being something of a 'trimmer,' being President. The abolition of the temporal power was carried by an overwhelming majority, only eleven of the delegates out of 150 voting against it.

necessary. This being the case, can exception be taken, either on political or religious grounds, to the course pursued by Mazzini's Government on the occasion we are now considering? This, however, I am not called upon to defend. My object is simply to point out its actual bearing on the history and progress of Italian unity. By way of recapitulation I must revert to the memoir already alluded to, the facts of which were supplied by Spola during his residence in England.

A rumour to the effect that the Liberals intended the destruction of all religion had been current in Rome for some time, spread by the anti-patriotic party, which then proudly held up its head by reason of the French being under the walls. Therefore, if that solemn Easter Day had been allowed to pass without a holy ceremony at St. Peter's, in lieu of that which, from time immemorial, the Pontiffs had been accustomed to celebrate on that day, the same party would easily, on the pretext of religion, have excited the people, and so caused a counter-revolution, in order to facilitate the entrance of the French, and in appearance to justify the conduct of Republican France, who instructed her General to say that he came to Rome not to destroy a daughter (*sic*), but to bring order, whilst order was never better maintained in the annals of pontifical history.

'On this account, Dr. Spola wishing to second the wise arrangements of the provisional municipal commission of Rome, although unworthy of so high an honour, and particularly as no simple minister had previously in the history of the world fulfilled so high a religious mission, yet, having before him the great evangelical law, viz., "Bonus paster dat animam suam pro ovibus suis," &c., and feeling himself bound by a double and imperative duty as a patriot and a minister, he hesitated not a moment to undertake it, *by which to contribute to the religious good of the people, to the maintenance of public tranquillity, and so to prepare the ground to unite, on the first occasion, Rome with the rest of Italy*, as it fell to the lot of the Italian expedition to that city to do, on the more than

memorable date of September 20, 1870, and when, instead of an armed resistance, it met with the greatest sympathy from the people.'

Mr. Redish, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone on behalf of Spola, says: 'It was, in fact, a matter of the highest, nay, of vital importance, to have the sacred functions performed on that Easter Sunday in the usual way, *or the Republic would have fallen*. Although crushed three months later by force of arms, there can be no doubt of the immense effect which the temporary existence of the Republic had in subsequently leading to the result of Italian unity; and the striking service rendered by Dr. Spola on that memorable occasion would appear fully to justify the commendation bestowed upon him by the provisional government in their vote of thanks, when they declare that "he had proved himself to be a true Italian, and to have deserved well of his country."

'The moral courage requisite for the performance of so bold an act of patriotism almost transcends ordinary conception. We may admire the courage of the soldier ready to die on the field of battle for his country, or the courage displayed in the cabinet by a minister in carrying out great designs for the good of the nation, for such men are sure of the plaudits of their compeers, and the approval of large numbers of their countrymen; but higher still even than these would seem to be the courage of the priest who, to save his country, braved the certain displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors and equals, with nothing to support him but the consciousness that he was performing a noble act of self-sacrifice. Sure of the implacable hostility of the Pope and his party if ever they regained the temporal power in Rome, while saving for the time the freedom of his country, as regards himself, he sacrificed his prospects, he lost his fortune, he risked his life. The fortune of war proved against him, and, with more justice than even a famous Pope, he can declare that "having loved righteousness and hated iniquity, he has had to live in exile."

As to the relation which the Revolution of 1849 bore to the later developments of Italian history, a writer in the 'Saturday Review,' in an article on Garibaldi, says: 'The foundations of Italian liberty and unity were laid in the unsuccessful struggle of 1849.'

None of the writers I have quoted, however, and none that I have seen, appear to me to grasp the true significance of maintaining the Republic during the years 1848-9 till it fell before a foreign power. They speak in a vague general way of the important moral effect produced, of 'preparing the ground,' of the avoidance of anything that would seem to justify French interference, &c. But the question is neither a sentimental nor a metaphysical one. There is a real tangible difference between a conquered nation and a nation freed from foreign tyranny. If the Roman Republic of 1849 had fallen by internal opposition and dissension, Rome would still have been taken by Victor Emmanuel in 1870, but she would then have been obliged to confess that she was once more the prey of a foreign power. As it was, she could welcome the King as her deliverer, and accept from him a constitutional government of a similar pattern to that which had only been suppressed by the power of a foreign army. Although twenty-one years had elapsed, the Government of 1870 may be considered in a certain sense continuous with that of 1849. This was the first time the Romans had been freed from foreign control and at liberty to choose for themselves, and they could consistently accept from an Italian monarch a constitution not essentially dissimilar to that which they had formerly upheld and fought for on that memorable July 3, 1849, when the army of the French Republic marched into Rome over the dead bodies of Italian patriots.

The papal power was restored, but not by Italy. Meanwhile the germs of Italian freedom, crushed for the time in Rome, were destined to take root elsewhere, and to spread, in process of time, throughout the entire peninsula. It was not to Mazzini, not to Gavazzi, not even to Garibaldi, but to the King of Sardinia, and his minister Count Cavour, that the task

of bringing about the unity of Italy finally fell. The philosopher could work out the perfect ideal ; it remained for the practical statesman to adapt it to the actual state of the country.

The Pope did not return to Rome until the following April (1850), but long before this an urgent order had been issued for the arrest of Spola. This high-handed proceeding seems to be entirely contrary to the spirit of all International law, for all Spola did was authorised by the *de facto* Government, and he had committed no ecclesiastical offence. The obvious intention was to keep him in prison for the remainder of his life without a trial. He escaped, however, to Civita Vecchia, and succeeded in getting on board an English vessel bound for London. The following year (1850) he went to Liverpool, where he remained for twenty-nine years, earning his living till he was seventy-four years old by teaching Italian, the latter part of the time (from 1868 to 1879) being Italian master at Queen's College.

The importance of Spola's work as a factor in the history of Italian unity was recognised in a practical manner by the Government of King Humbert. For when, being no longer able to support himself by teaching owing to his advancing years, he consented to have his case brought before the Italian authorities, he received a pension, and was thus enabled, after thirty years of exile, to pass the few remaining years of his life in his native country. At the same time, by a decree of King Humbert, dated February 13, 1881, he was reinstated in the chaplaincy which he had held thirty-two years before in the Italian army. By these acts the Italian Government showed its virtual continuity with the National Assembly of 1849, and its recognition of the service at that time rendered to the cause of Italian freedom and unity by Emilio Luigi Spola.

APPENDIX.

I.

Of the various documents referred to, the first in chronological order is a certified copy of the Register of Spola's baptism, in September 1805, from the records of births and baptisms of the parish church of St. Mary the Greater, commune of Vercelli, for that year.¹

The next takes us to the year 1840, when we find him in holy orders and pursuing a certain course of studies on Church matters.

II.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.]

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, finding in himself the ability to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to accord him the faculty of reading every sort of prohibited book, to the end that he may confute on opportune occasions the errors against the Church and against ethics, rendering himself the more useful to the same, be it in evangelical preaching or in sacramental confession, and for these motives alone accompanying he prays your Holiness to please to accord him the above favour.

Feria Sexta die 7 Augusti 1840.

Auctoritate Sanctissimi D. N. Gregorii, PP. XVI. nobis commissa liceat oratori (si vera sunt exposita) quoad vixerit legere ac retinere, sub custodia tamen ne ad aliorum manus perveniant. Libros prohibitos de Theologia Scholastica, Dogmatica, et Morali, de Jure Canonico, de Concionibus, de Sacris Ritibus, et de expositione sacræ scripturæ; item Grammatico, Rhetorico, Poetico, Philosophico, Mathematico, Astronomico, Historico, Sacro, Ecclesiastico, et prophano, exceptis operibus Dussing, Volney, M. Reghellini, Pigault-le-Brun, Potter, Bentham, J. A. Dulaure, Fetis et Constantine de la Grèce, Nouvelle del Casti, et aliis operibus de

¹ The originals of the translated documents are in Italian. The Latin documents, emanating from the Vatican or other ecclesiastical sources, I have left in the original.

obscenis et contra religionem ex professo tractantibus. In quorum fidem.

[Signed] FR. TH. ANTONINI DEGOLA O. P. S. C. J. *Secret.*
Gratis omnino quocumque titulo.

[*Endorsed.*]

To the Holiness of our Most Holy Pope Gregory XVI., happily reigning. For the Priest Don Luigi Spola of Vercelli.

The third and fourth relate to the same period.

III.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, perceiving himself able to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to grant him permission to say Holy Mass an hour before dawn, or an hour after midday upon any necessary occasion.

[*Endorsed.*]

To the Holiness of our Most Holy Pope Gregory XVI., happily reigning.

Die 29 Augusti 1840.

Ex Audientia SSmi

SSmus remisit preces arbitrio Ordinarii cum facultatibus necessariis et opportunis ad effectum indulgendi, ut orator, accedente justa et rationabili causa, sacrum peragere valeat una hora vel ante auroram vel post meridiem: dummodo intuitu hujusmodi indulti nihil percipiat præter manualet consuetam.

Contrariis non obstantibus.

[Signed] A. CARD. DEL PRAGO.

For the priest Don Luigi Spola of Vercelli.

IV.

Most Blessed Father.

[Translation.

Don Luigi Spola, priest of the Metropolitan of Vercelli in Piedmont, finding himself able to profit as much in spiritual as in temporal matters, prays your Holiness to grant him permission to bless the sacred vessels upon any case of need.

Vercellensis diocesis.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio concessit ad Triennium supra-scripto oratori facultatem benedicendi pro usu dumtaxat ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Vercellen. et Parœciæ sub qua moratur dumtaxat eam sacram suppellectilem in qua Sacra Unctio non adhibetur ; dummodo tamen expressus accedat sui Rm̃i ordinarii consensus.

Pro Em̃o et Rm̃o Domino Cardinali Pedicini Præfecto

[Signed] J. F. CARD. FREGORAZZIA.

J. G. FATALI, S. R. C. *Secret.*

Die 16 Septembris 1840.

[*Endorsed.*]

*To the Holiness of our most Holy Pope Gregory XVI.,
happily reigning.*

The priest Don Luigi Spola di Vercelli, &c.

The next paper is a testimonial from the Sacred Congregation of Council which accounts for the first years following the attainment of the foregoing privileges, and certifying to the good use he has made of them ; thus indicating the favourable position in which he stood with his ecclesiastical superiors. Dated April 30, 1846.

V

Testimonial of the Sacred Congregation of Council.

Testor ego subscriptus R. D. Aloysium Spola Vercellensem ac juris utriusque ad formam Const. S. M. Leonis XII. 'Quod divina sapientia' a mense Nōvembris anno 1840, usque ad Julium 1845 (quo tempore munere functus sum Auditoris R. P. D. Alexii de Castellis a Secretis, S. Con. Concilii) practice SS. Canonum disciplinæ operam navasse apud laudatum Præsulem ; singulari præterea ac valde laudabili in suo obeundo munere præstitisse diligentia ; ac ea tandem dedisse sive in exaranda causarum synopsi sive in earum disquisitione specimina, ut eum haud parum in canonica juris-prudentia profecisse merito existimaverim.

Quare hoc testimonium quæsitus eidem libenter remitto.

[Signed] CARMINE MEROSI GORI.

Hac die 30 Aprilis, 1846.

Testor ego infrascriptus Sac. Congregationis Concilii secretarius subscriptum Carminem Gori talem fuisse, qualem se signavit. In

quorum fidem, datum Romæ ex secretaria concilii hac die 20 Maji 1846.

[Signed] ARCHIEPISCOPUS MELITENUS, *Secret.*

VI.

Constantinus Tituli S. Silvestri in Capite Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyter Cardinalis Patrizi, Sacrosanctæ Patriarchalis Basilicæ Liberianæ Archipresbyter, SSmi D. N. Papæ Vicarius Generalis Romanæque curiæ ejusque districtus Judex Ordinarius, etc.

Universis et singulis has nostras litteras inspecturis notum facimus et testamur R. D. Aloisium Spola Vercellensis Diocæsis Sacerdotem pluribus abhinc annis commendatitiis litteris munitum ordinarii sui in hac alma Urbe versari, ubi Philosophiæ ac Theologiæ tum Dogmaticæ tum Morali sedulam operam dedit, deinde expleto juris utriusque cursu ad formam constitutionis S. M. Leonis XII. Doctoris Laurea donatus fuit, tandem practicæ SS. Canonum disciplinæ tum in exaranda causarum synopsi tum in earum disquisitione summa cum laude ac profectu vacavit apud S. Congregationem Concilii, et S. Consultationis Tribunal. Præterea testamur bonorum morum, pietatis, religionis, ac Ecclesiasticæ gravitatis specimina indesinenter dedisse, prout ex authenticis in secretaria nostri Tribunalis exhibitis testimoniis novimus.

In quorum etc. Dat. Romæ ex ~~V~~E'dibus Vicariatus die 8 Mensis Februarii anni 184 septimi.

JOS. CANALIS PS. CONSTŪS. VICEG.
(L. S.) JO. CAUCUS. TARNASSI, *Secret.*

VII.

Copy of attestation of Studio Pratico at a sitting of the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Council.

Eos conventus, qui tribus abhinc annis, singulis hebdomadibus apud nos haberi solent ad criminalis supremi Fori causas disquirendas, Illustrissimus ac admodum Reverendus Aloysius Spola, Vercellarum archidioceseos sacerdos, laudabili diligentia ventitavit, scientiamque suam [pro] difficillimis quæstionibus evolvendis, [pro] delinquendi ratione penitius investiganda, [pro] legibus ad speciem facti perapte accommodandis, cum apertissime, ac nitidissime declaraverit, non possumus quin laudibus extollere singularem ingenii sive alacritatem ac facilitatem in explanandis iustis pro-

priisque ideis propter diversarum cognitionem scientiarum, qua præditus, ideoque dignus a nobis habitus est, quem hisce litteris donaremus in quarum fidem hæc libenti, volentique animo subscripsimus, signoque nostro munivimus.

Datum ex ædibus nostris die 18 mensis Januarii 185 octavi.

[Signed] ALOYSIUS COLOMBO DE CUCCARO.

We then come to his appointment as Chaplain in the First Legion. This is dated June 1 of the same year, only a few days before the death of Colonel Delgrande.

VIII.

In the Name of God.

[Translation.

Signor Don Luigi Spola is appointed Chaplain of the second battalion of the First Legion with which he left Rome, in which office he will avail himself of the letters of faculty which by any means the Holy Father sends to all the chaplains of the crusade.

D. ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI, *Head Chaplain.*

Vicenza, June 1, 1848.

IX.

In the Name of God.

[Translation.

Signor Don Luigi Spola inscribed himself in the roll of the first Roman Legion the 23rd day of March, 1848 ; left Rome with the same Legion the 26th day of the same month, and by the order of the 13th day of April was appointed acting Chaplain in the second battalion of the said Legion.

The deceased Colonel Delgrande having lost the regular Brevet, this serves for verification of the facts stated, and is of legal force to Spola as his Brevet, dating from the aforesaid 23rd day of March, 1848.

DON ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI, BARNABITE, *Head Chaplain.*

Vicenza, June 11, 1848.

X.

First Roman Legion.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, Surgeon-Major, do hereby certify that the Reverend Signor Luigi Spola left Rome last March 26th, with the Legion, serving in the capacity of Chaplain thereto, and, as far as

has come under my notice, he has always followed the marches, discharging his duty in the most edifying manner. I also attest that at the stations of Bologna, Treviso, Padova, and Vicenza, he frequently visited the sick that we had in the military hospitals of those towns. He rendered them every species of comfort which lay in his power. I feel obliged here particularly to specify the unusual earnestness shown by the said Reverend Dr. Spola in the assistance he lent to the wounded at Corunda, who were taken from Montebelluno to Treviso, on the night of May 9th and 10th, he accompanying the carts on foot, not only giving spiritual help, but also performing whatever personal services he was capable of ; not refusing to assist in placing them in carts, and taking them out again ; acting with firmness and most evident brotherly Christian charity. I must also add, to give just praise to the aforesaid Dr. Luigi, that without any selfish aim in view he, after the excessive hardships suffered at Vicenza, undertook the duty of accompanying from that town to this capital the mortal remains of our Colonel, Natale Del Grande, enduring, without discouragement, the fatigues and vexations of so very long a march. This I can conscientiously attest, the facts being fully known to me, and in strict conformity with the truth.

In this belief,

[Signed] DR. ROBERTO LEONINI,
Surgeon-Major.

Rome, September 20, 1848.

To this is appended a certificate from Colonel Galletti, Colonel Del Grande's successor.

I certify that the said Don Luigi Spola has always acted with zeal in his position, and also that he refused to accept any fees for conducting the body of Colonel Del Grande to Rome.

[Signed] COLONEL GALLETTI.

Rome, September 22, 1848.

The next paper is the brevet of the Commune of Rome, dated November 14, 1848, conferring the medal of honour.

XI.

S. P. Q. R.

[Translation.

The Commune of Rome has conferred on the chaplain, Dr. Luigi Spola, who, during the engagement of the first Roman Legion at Vicenza, the 10th day of June, 1848, has deserved well of his

country, the medal of honour with the senatorial arms, on the reverse the legend : PUGNA STRENUA AD VICENTIAM PUGNATA IV. EIDUS IUNIUS MDCCCXLVIII : in lasting witness of which the present diploma is granted.

Given from the Capitol, November 14th, 1848.

[Signed] T. CORSINI, *Senator*.

GIUSEPPE BOSSAR, *Secretary*.

Then follows the certificate from Gavazzi, the Chaplain-General.

XII.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that the Chaplain, Dr. Luigi Spola, on the day of the gallant defence of Vicenza, assisted the whole day the troops of the Legion at the barricade of the Podova Gate, receiving the last breath of Colonel Del Grande, and with the same care that he tended him during the last moments of his life he provided for the removal of his mortal remains to Rome, to be laid in the family sepulchre. This occasioned the said Chaplain much trouble and no common amount of labour, but it must ever redound to his honour.

In faith of which, &c.

ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI,

Head Chaplain of the said Legion.

Rome, December 11, 1848.

XIII.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 210.

[Translation.

The priest Luigi Spola is hereby authorised, in pursuance of his voluntary office, to celebrate Solemn High Mass on the morning of Sunday, the 8th instant, in the Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican.

CURZIO CORBOLI, *The President*.

ANTONIO FABRI, } *The Secretaries.*
LEOPOLD FABRI, }

The Hall of the Capitol. The 7th day of April, 1849.

XIV.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 315.

[Translation.

It is hereby certified that the citizen and priest Luigi Spola, of

Vercelli, has celebrated the Solemn High Mass in the Basilica of Saint Peter, in the Vatican, on the 8th instant, being Easter Sunday, at which were present the representatives of the people in the popular assembly, the citizen Triumvirs, the Ministers, the High officers of State, and troops of every arm.

It is further certified that the said Luigi Spola appeared on the Great Centre Balcony of the said Basilica after the said Mass, with the Venerable Sacrament, and gave the Benediction to the people, who were collected in the Piazza in great numbers, in the presence of the troops and the said officials.

By this the citizen and priest Luigi Spola has shown himself to be a true Italian, and has deserved well of his country ; especially as very many priests had refused to fulfil their duty in the above two services.

Given at the Hall of the Senate in the Capitol, the 9th day of April 1849.

For the Committee,
[L.S.] CURZIO CORBOLI, *The President*;
FABRI, *Secretary*.

XV.

Provisional Municipal Commission of Rome. Protocol No. 319.

[Translation.

Citizen Spola,—Enclosed in the present you will find the asked-for letter, as a certificate for the services rendered at St. Peter's on Holy Eastertide. You will also find the emolument which the Commission has thought fit to grant you in C. 10. 34, for which you are requested to remit through bearer two words of acknowledgment—in order that it may be entered to the usual expenditure account.

Brotherly Greeting.

For the Commission,
A. D. PASQUALI.

To the Citizen Luigi Spola.

[No date.]

XVI.

After this he appears to have returned for a time to his work as an Army Chaplain.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify to having seen in the Hospital at Montorio, on the 30th April, 1849, the citizen-priest Luigi Spola assisting the wounded with true religious piety.

BOARI, *Surgeon-Major*.

Rome, May 8, 1849.

XVII.

[Translation.

I, the undersigned, sacristan of the venerable church of the Sacred Wounds of S. Francisco in Rome, testify that the Revd. Dr. Spola for the last five years celebrates in the above Church at half-past ten.

In Faith whereof, &c.

V. STARNA, *Priest*.

Rome, July 13, 1849.

No. XVIII. of the series is a passport of admission to the newly established kingdom of Italy, dated April 2, 1862. On this occasion he went as travelling companion to a Liverpool merchant. He did not of course venture into any of the Pope's territory.

The first of the more recent papers is a certificate from the Consul-General at Liverpool.

XIX.

[Translation.

This certificate is given at the request of Signor Luigi Spola, of Vercelli, who left his country about thirty years ago on account of the political disturbances of that period, and took up his residence in this city of Liverpool, where he led an honourable and respected life till the present day, on which he leaves here to return to his native country.

The Consul-General CAPELLO.

Consulate-General of H.M.
The King of Italy.

Liverpool,
September 1, 1879.

XX.

A general certificate from the Mayor of his native town. Nov. 23, 1880.

XXI.

Certificate from Italian Civil Court. Nov. 26, 1880.

XXII.

Certificate from the Secretary of Queen's College, Liverpool, testifying to his ability as a teacher. Feb. 3, 1881.

XXIII.

Decree of King Humbert reinstating him in his former position of Chaplain in the Italian Army. Feb. 13, 1881.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FINE ARTS UNDER THE PURITANS.

By J. FOSTER PALMER, L.R.C.P., F.R.Hist.S.

THE GENESIS OF ART.

IN all nations of the world the development of art in its earlier stages has had an undefined but intimate connection with some form of religion, hero-worship, or superstition. In Greek mythology, for instance, we find that Boreas, the North Wind, aided the Athenians against the Persian fleet. By continual repetition Boreas gradually assumed to those who spoke of this event a personal form and character, and at last developed into a divine or semi-divine being. But lest this form and this character be lost, it is necessary that the imaginary attributes of Boreas should be stereotyped. Human imperfection renders this a task which can only be accomplished piecemeal. The poetic art celebrates his actions in its boldest flights of language; the histrionic art gives vitality to the poet's descriptions; while the art of the painter and sculptor permanises the idea of his outward form. Boreas becomes a god, and idol-worship commences by the aid of art.

Another example is found in the religious history of the Jews. The writer of the 'Wisdom of Solomon' describes a similar process,¹ and in speaking of one only of the numerous

¹ 'Whom men could not honour in presence because they dwelt far off; they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent as if he were present. Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition. For he, per-

aspects of art, forbids the extension of artistic imagination beyond certain natural limits, as leading to idolatry, and perhaps also to sensuality. He condemns at the same time idealistic art and æsthetic religion. 'To hold the mirror up to Nature' is a lesson that still needs to be taught. It is true that there is no danger in the present day of artistic license leading to idolatry. This is, indeed, one of those visible facts which help us to gauge the moral and intellectual growth of mankind, difficult as it often is to see any signs of real progress. Such was the low, hyperanthropomorphic conception of the Deity held by the Jews and other nations of antiquity, and to so great an extent were they under the dominion of the *senses*, that their moral and intellectual being was in constant danger of being perverted and degraded by the excessive stimulation of the organs of sense. This danger has so far passed away as to be with us hardly comprehensible. Reaction has been established, and our tendencies lie in an opposite direction. Our feelings do not impel us to worship any being inferior to ourselves, while many ignore worship in all its forms on account of the inadequate conceptions of themselves and others.

The true genesis of art consists in its release from the trammels of religion and superstition. Then alone does it begin to make independent progress, and become a worthy life-object. The influence of this idea may be seen in one form or other through all periods of our history ; and though at times it has resulted in an apparent retrogression, its ultimate effects have always been beneficial. Whatever may have been the cause, it appears certain that from the earliest times the inhabitants of this country were to a less extent under the dominion of the senses, and showed a greater comparative moral and intellectual development than most of the nations of the known world at the same periods. I do not

adventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion. And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the *work*, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured as a man.' (Ch. xiv. v. 17-20.)

mean to imply that their intellects were always greater, but that a more even balance obtained between the mind and the senses. Possibly the coldness of our climate may have had some effect in stimulating the intellect and blunting the æsthetic perception.¹ But human nature presents more than one aspect, and the undue prominence of one quality of the mind is not always desirable. The longer the period before art reaches its meridian, the greater the corresponding intellectual development, and the more extended the arena in which it can display itself. Its zenith may be postponed, but its scope will be unbounded. For these reasons art has a greater future before it in this country than in almost any other. It has been slower in its growth, but more certain; for the other mental faculties have kept pace with it. In other countries it has attained a greater height, but here it has had a wider field. Great as has been the development of Italian art, I venture to suggest that there is less variety, I might say less originality, than in English. Religion, love, sensuality; Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, will comprehend a large proportion of Italian art in all its phases; but where is the Argus-eye, the world-wide sympathy with human nature, of Shakespeare?

And for want of this comprehensiveness the Italians have failed in certain branches of art. The Italian intellect broke down under the weight of the Gothic Arch; they were unable to deal with it efficiently. And we have only to compare St. Peter's at Rome with St. Paul's in London to see how deficient were some of their conceptions even of classical architecture.

But English art cannot fulfil its mission unless it is independent. Art is one thing and Religion another. But art

¹ The latter suggestion has been made both by Winckelmann and Montesquieu, and, taking this partial view of the subject, they have laid it down that English art will never reach a high standard.

This view is entirely one-sided. The climate of Holland, which is similar to our own, has not at any time been unfavourable to the development of art in its highest forms. That country has ever been in the van, and has produced a greater proportion of artistic talent than any country in the world.

which depends upon religion for its existence, and religion which requires the aid of art to preserve its vitality, are both alike imperfect. Such a connection tends to reduce religion to a mere form, and to invest art with a semi-religious halo which deprives it of much of its reality and impedes its true progress.

The influence of art on religion is not now the question before us. This is a point which will probably long continue to engage the attention of theologians. Whether it is good or evil is still a matter of dispute among them. Each of these views has in turn predominated, and although the former is now the prevalent one, it is far from being universally accepted, and the tide of fashion may turn in the opposite direction. Even in the present day Church authorities are by no means unanimous as to the introduction of the musical art into the services of the Church. Canon Hawkins, late Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, spoke of '*intoning the prayers*, the usual practice of our cathedrals,' as '*the relic of a corrupt age*.' 'The ear,' he said, 'is gratified, but sense is sacrificed to sound, and the more so the better, in a musical sense, the service is intoned; the best performers only the more completely singing away the sense of the most solemn words.'¹

But this connection, as I shall endeavour to point out, has in former times had a deleterious effect on art. And even now, when art stands on an independent basis, its introduction into religious services not unfrequently results in a deterioration of its standard. For music may still be heard in some of our churches which would hardly be tolerated if performed in the public streets. Elocution is still listened to in the pulpit and reading-desk which would disgrace a schoolboy. Hymns are still sung which no intelligent person would take the trouble to read; and church windows are covered with brilliant primary colours disposed in forms which represent no object in heaven or in earth.

At one period of our history a violent attempt was made

¹ *Liber Cantabrigiensis*. Introduction.

to break off this connection at every point : and the attempt was one which, however temporary in some of its results, however open to exception in its method, deserves the respect both of true lovers of art and of truly religious minds. There is no doubt that this idea had, in some form, taken a firm hold on the minds of the Puritans when they commenced to carry their iconoclastic views into practice. Eloquence was banished from the pulpit, and replaced by a harsh nasal twang ; music, incense, images, and all sensuous objects interdicted. Whatever we may think of the religious views of the Puritans ; whether they really introduced any true religious spirit to take the place of the forms they abolished, it is certain that their services were not rendered attractive by artificial means, but were gone through from a stern sense of religious duty. But, like all reformers, like all crotcheteers, they carried their views to impossible lengths. In their zeal to abolish æsthetic religion they began to look with suspicion upon art itself, and occasionally to attack it on other grounds and for purely hypothetical reasons. The ultimate result, however, as I shall attempt to show, was, upon the whole, a positive advance in real art. For it was then that art resumed its true functions, the amusement and elevation of the masses of the population. Art, which is really an aspect of Nature, cannot be abolished by artificial means. The growth of art is a natural process, and does not depend on the will of the ruling powers. They may sometimes catch the spirit of the age, and lend a helping hand ; or they may, as they more often do, place obstacles in its path, the worst of which is encouragement given to a false style. The object of art is to please the senses with a healthy stimulus. In proportion as religion becomes purely spiritual and minds become bent in a single direction and overstimulated by fanaticism or any other one-sided process, the necessity arises for art to stimulate the senses, and thus restore a sound mental balance. This cannot be accomplished by an incongruous mixture of art with religion, but by a more perfect development of both in their several directions. And when a demand

like this arises, it is never long before the supply is forthcoming.

THE DRAMA.

The foregoing views are best exemplified in the history of the Drama.

In all nations of the world the origin of the dramatic art may be traced to religious shows in the dark ages. And in all nations it has failed to reach a high standard until it has been divorced from religion and commenced a new career founded solely on its own merits. This step has, at first, always excited contempt ; but energy has by this means been only the more stimulated, and the stage has now attained a position it would never otherwise have reached ; while at the same time true religion has not suffered. If, in the time of the old Moralities and Mystery-plays, it had been foretold that the histrionic art would never attain its full development till it ceased to be a part of religious ceremony, the idea would have been scouted, and its degraded position when the separation first took place would apparently have shown the prophecy to be a false one.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII., when the British Church had re-asserted its independence of foreign control, and the mental upheaval resulting from this cataclysm had at length subsided, that Comedy and Tragedy began to exist for the first time in a separate form. Here the true progress of the drama commenced ; and so rapid was its development that before a hundred years had elapsed the genius of Shakespeare had shed its light on the country. Such a rapid sequence of events had never occurred before, and may never occur again, for the preceding mental stagnation was artificial. The dramatic art had been pent up in the minds of men for centuries past, but had found no outlet. The imagination was 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confined, bound in,' through its dependence on, and connection with, the Church ; and when the bond was severed the force of the current was overwhelming. Ford, Marlowe, Massinger, Fletcher, Beaumont, Jonson, and

others followed in quick succession, till the climax of potentiality was reached in the master-mind of Shakespeare. Round that great centre-piece the histrionic art has been building itself up for nearly 300 years, and by this means the works of Shakespeare, though at first but dimly appreciated, are now acknowledged throughout the world as the models of dramatic writing: while they in their turn have given to the stage a name, a grandeur, it would never otherwise have attained. Had the stage continued its pristine connection with the Church, where would now have been the great and well-known names of Garrick, of Kean, of Kemble, of Phelps, of Siddons?

But we must now retrace a few steps to see what influence the Puritan Revolution, coming on at an early part of this period, exerted on the progress of the art.

It is usually stated that the theatres were all closed at the latter part of Charles I.'s reign, and then the subject is dropped, and we are left to infer that the art, in the natural order of things, went on at the Restoration where it left off twelve or fourteen years before. This statement is both incomplete and misleading. The stage, as we have seen, had not long been released from leading-strings; for so late as the reign of Elizabeth some plays were of a religious character, and during the early part even of her reign, theatres were only licensed for Sunday. The Puritans had three good reasons for putting a temporary veto on plays, as they were then acted. In the first place, the play was still looked upon as a kind of semi-detached and artificial adjunct of religion, and one of their grand objects was to purify religion from all these parasitical growths, and to commence *de novo* on a simpler and purer basis. And in thus finally cutting the Gordian knot by means of which the Church and the Theatre were held together they did an inestimable service to both.

Secondly, although the Stage during its long connection with the Church had been cramped in its power of intellectual development, it had at the same time, and from the same cause, kept up a kind of didactic morality. This, being

wholly artificial, collapsed as soon as the connection was severed, and reaction set in. No one can examine the plays acted before this period (for Shakespeare was not yet popular) without being struck with their obscenity, in comparison with which the least presentable of Shakespeare's plays stand at the highest pitch of refinement. We must therefore thank the Puritans for the purification of the drama. Their only way of doing so was by stopping all such plays as were then being acted. A censor of plays in the nineteenth century could have taken no other course. They were merely two centuries in advance of their age.

And, thirdly, we may mention the reason actually given by the Parliament—viz.: 'that public sports do not well agree with public calamities,' and the prohibition was only to last 'while these sad causes' do continue. This closing of theatres was nothing new, nor was it in any way a necessary result of Puritan government. It was ordered in 1636 when Charles I. was in the height of his power, and Charles was an acknowledged friend both of the arts and sciences. It appears, in fact, to have been not at all an uncommon custom in the presence of national calamities. It was done in 1625, in 1603, in 1593, and at all times when the Plague was prevalent, not for sanitary reasons but from some abstract idea of inconsistency. And it was during the predominance of the Presbyterian, the moderate faction, of the Long Parliament that the theatres were closed; the law was greatly relaxed when the true Puritans of the Independent faction, with Cromwell at their head, obtained paramount influence. And it was in 1656, during the reign of Cromwell, that Davenant brought out 'The Siege of Rhodes' at Rutland House, and encountered no opposition. Here commenced the actual revival, on an improved scale, of dramatic performances in England. And this, be it remembered, was four years before the Restoration, and at a time when there was no more prospect of a restored monarchy than there was of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. And yet superficial observers, finding the two dates so near together, carelessly

put down the Restoration as the time when the revival of the drama took place; whereas it then suffered, both in character and intelligence, a slight relapse. Pepys, who may be considered one of the best intellects of the court of Charles II., called 'Othello' 'a mean thing,' 'The Taming of the Shrew' 'a silly play,' 'Macbeth' 'a pretty good play,' 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' 'did not please him at all, in no part of it,' and 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' was 'the most insipid ridiculous play he ever saw in his life.' Either the courtiers of Charles II. were very bad judges, or else these plays were abominably acted. In either case it does not speak well for the influence of the Restoration.

In the human mind, as in the material world, action and reaction are equal and contrary. During the long period of mental inactivity necessitated by the Wars of the Roses, a vast accumulation of thought took place for which no outlet was found. This, in peaceable times, culminated in the energetic mental action which brought about the Reformation. Men's minds being thus overcharged with religious thought, another reaction became necessary to restore a balance, and the grand era of dramatic composition set in. Then followed another civil war, another period of religious enthusiasm, and then again in peaceable times, not at the Restoration, but four years before it, commenced that slow but steady progress of dramatic art which is now pursuing its splendid career.

POETRY.

Notwithstanding the long list of Royalist poets, the greatest epic poet of this or any other age¹ was a Puritan of the intensest dye, secretary and confidential adviser to the Protector Cromwell. The great source of poetry in the mind is the *imagination*, and in Milton, by common consent, the imagination excelled. If, therefore, the highest development of this faculty can co-exist with extreme Puritanism, it is clear that any shortcomings are not due to this cause. On the con-

¹ Of course I exclude Homer, but there are some who do not.

trary, it clears the ground for its freer action. As the first reformation in religion paved the way for William Shakespeare, so did the second for John Milton.

MUSIC.

During the Commonwealth, owing to the excessive zeal of some of the Puritans, and their abomination of æsthetics in religion, music made but little progress. But this was by no means a necessary consequence of their influence, nor was the feeling by any means universal among them. On the contrary, many of them, particularly those in authority, appear to have had the advancement of music greatly at heart, and if they failed in promoting it, it was not for lack of will, but of time and opportunity. In 1656, a Committee of Council was formed consisting of Lisle, Montague, Mulgrave, Fleetwood, Pickering, Sydenham and Lambert, to assist in founding a College of Music in London! In this, as in many other respects, the Puritans were in advance of their age. Had their work not been checkmated by the Restoration, we might have had a College of Music two hundred years ago. Cromwell, too, who may be considered the type of Puritanism, was personally a great lover of music; his favourite amusement, when time allowed, was to have the organ played before him at Hampton Court.¹ Indeed, the whole subject has been infected with the same misstatements, the same series of misconceptions, that have arisen with regard to the drama. The strong family likeness of these two sets of statements would of itself be sufficient to arouse a suspicion of an *ex post facto* origin if they are critically examined, but in the absence of such examination, the misconceptions to which they have given rise have continued to the present day in the face of incontestable facts. We are told, for example, that choral services were suppressed in the cathedrals during the latter part of the reign of Charles I. This may have been the case, but it can hardly be true, as is constantly assumed, that in conse-

¹ Hawkins's *History of Music*.

quence of this suppression Richard Portman, the organist of Westminster Abbey, was permanently deprived of his office.¹ For an order of Council still exists, dated February 1655, by which John Hingston was appointed to the vacancy caused by the death of Richard Portman.² Either, therefore, Portman was not deprived of his office at all, or he was re-appointed by Cromwell, who was evidently well aware that Charles was no mean judge of art. But Charles I., although an excellent judge of sacred, appears to have paid little attention to the so-called secular, music. The latter had, therefore, been somewhat neglected during his reign, and, no doubt, lapsed to a still greater extent during the Commonwealth.

At the Restoration a revival of secular music took place, in quantity, at least, if not in quality. But Charles II., unlike his father, had little respect for music of the organ type. He even introduced violins into his chapel services instead of the organ ; an innovation which greatly shocked even the Royalist Evelyn.³ And not unnaturally ; for whatever may be the respective merits of these two instruments in the abstract, most authorities are agreed that if music is introduced into churches, that of the organ is the most appropriate and consistent. Unfortunately, however, Charles's taste was imperfect even in the secular branch of the art, and was warped by his foreign predilections. Whatever loss or injury English music may have suffered from supposed neglect during the Commonwealth, it suffered more from the indiscriminate support given by Charles II. to second-rate French and Italian artists.⁴ From this shock it has never recovered. English musicians were completely discouraged, for all English patrons followed the King's example. To the present day the natural development of English music has been retarded by the constant importation of, and factitious support accorded to, foreign musicians, whose only superiority often consisted in

¹ Grove's *Dictionary*, Art. Portman.

² *Athenæum*, 2, 84, p. 178.

³ Evelyn's *Diary*, December 31, 1662.

⁴ Lambert, Grabut, &c. (French) ; Lamiere, Matteis, &c. (Italian).

the fact that they were not Englishmen. Even in the nineteenth century men have stooped to the device of changing their names to pander to this artificial popular delusion. Whatever English music may eventually become, its growth has been stunted and its natural course diverted by this foreign influx, and it can never be what it would have been but for the pernicious influence of Charles II.

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

Till one hundred and fifty years ago no real matured English School of Art existed. We had been outrun by other nations. In the sixteenth century Holland and Italy were in the height of their grandeur, and English rulers endeavoured to manufacture art in the country by importing Dutch and Italian painters. But national art must *grow*. It cannot be brought into a country cut and dried. All attempts to introduce foreign art on soil unprepared for its reception have failed and always will fail. We don't want hot-house plants, we want the hardy growth of our native soil. Holbein and others had come and gone, but had left no permanent impression. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that the necessary conditions existed; and it was Vandyck who first introduced art that was capable of assimilating with the national character. This time, so favourable to the growth of art, was a time when the Puritan idea had taken a firm hold of vast numbers of the population. It is to the superior judgment of Charles I. that we are indebted for the continued presence of Vandyck in this country; but his influence could not have been permanent had not the country itself, independently of its rulers, been prepared for it; and though it had not yet broken out in an active form, there can be no doubt that Puritanism was the leading mental feature of the time.

Vandyck died just as the Parliamentary faction came into power. But the seed was sown, and took root: and by slow degrees an English school was formed, and bore fruit in the

following century. And where were the young shoots first nourished? Under the Commonwealth. The first artist to permanise the ideas of Vandyck and commence that artistic tradition which succeeding generations have continued to take up was Robert Walker, who was patronised by, and who painted, the Protector Cromwell: while Samuel Cooper, the greatest of English miniature painters, received the like encouragement. For Cromwell did not bring over a number of foreign artists, but encouraged the growth of English art on its native soil.

But this national school received, at the Restoration, a temporary check, owing to the large importation of foreigners by Charles II. The most conspicuous of these was Antonio Verrio. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Verrio introduced into this country all the worst phases of French art and none of its better qualities. During his residence here he devoted his attention with considerable success to spoiling the palaces of Windsor and Hampton Court and to degrading the popular taste. Historical painting in particular suffered greatly at his hands. A taste for it having begun to develop at this period, it was debased and stunted in its growth by Verrio's deficient conception of it. It has been ironically suggested that he spoiled William III.'s palace on principle, being a Jacobite; but this is an undeserved compliment to his capacity as an artist, for he was perfectly impartial in his dealings, and served Charles II. no better. Thus was the progress of national art in this country diverted from its course by the introduction of foreign artists, who, though many of them were men of some talent, imported no fresh ingredient of any value. Their peculiarities and excrescences were set down as essentials by the connoisseurs of the time, and thus obstacles were placed in the way of native talent.

But the career of art in England at this period may in some degree be exemplified by that of a single foreigner whose reputation continued throughout, from the latter part of Charles I.'s reign to the end of Charles II.'s.

Peter van der Vaes, otherwise Lely, came to England the

year that Vandyck died. Cromwell, however, saw more promise in the pupil of Vandyck¹ than in the pupil of Grebber,² and Lely held a second-rate position only during the Commonwealth, whereas he became pre-eminent after the Restoration, not on account of his superior talent, but partly because he was a foreigner, and partly because, as a kind of artistic Vicar of Bray, he accommodated his style to the artificial mannerism of the court of Charles II.

Had the native school founded on the lines of Vandyck not been swamped by this foreign influx, native-born English painters would inevitably have arisen to adorn the closing years of the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth would have opened under more favourable auspices in this respect than it actually did.³

In the progress of art England owes more to Charles I. than to any of her rulers before or since. It was he who gave the first real impetus to English art. In 1636 he began to establish a Royal Academy of Arts on the best principles. In this, as well as in his selection of old paintings and his patronage of living painters, he showed himself a true friend to art. But Charles's fall involved that of many of his projects, and we must not forget that we owe it to Cromwell that Charles's efforts in this particular direction were not entirely wasted. For it was Cromwell who protected the growth of English art at this period among all the vicissitudes of his active life. And it is to Cromwell we are indebted for the greatest works we possess, viz., the Cartoons of Raffaele. These he saved at his own expense when they were doomed to destruction by the Parliament, and it is entirely through his influence that the orders for burning and selling the royal pictures were never carried out. As soon as he came into power he not only prevented the further sale of pictures, but restored many that had been already sold. It was in 1645 that the Parliament ordered all pictures containing represen-

¹ Walker.

² Lely.

³ Hogarth may be considered the founder of the reformed school of British art in the eighteenth century.

tations of Christ or the Virgin Mary to be burned and all others to be sold, but for this the leading minds among the Puritans were in no way responsible. Among others, Fairfax and Lambert were enthusiasts in art, and Cromwell was by no means insensible to its claims.

Charles I. saw clearly the true limits and necessities of art. He knew that an artist requires a *soul*, and a soul that he can infuse into his work. In early life he was painted by Velazquez, the great apostle of living realistic art, and in later life by Vandyck, in whose wonderful portrait he still lives among us. In both instances the choice evinces the accuracy of Charles's judgment.

On the other hand, the well-known 'Paint me as I am—warts and all' of Cromwell shows that he also had a true perception. Art has never had a greater lesson from the outside than that conveyed in these words of Cromwell to Cooper. It lies at the root of all good and successful art. It is the secret of Shakespeare's immortality, of the lasting attractiveness of Cervantes, of the undying interest of the Psalms of David. It is this that lives in the paintings of Velazquez, of Murillo, of Vandyck. They painted men as they *were*, not as the egotism of the artist thinks they ought to be.

'Paint me as I am,' said Cromwell in effect. 'I am a living, breathing man, a compound of virtues and vices; a man of action, or a man of contemplation; and of all this I bear the marks in my countenance. The most trifling oversight, the slightest neglect of detail, will spoil the result as a whole. Let us have no filling up from an imaginary ideal. Let my portrait be a living one, that future ages may see me, and future artists and historians judge of me, not from your fanciful filling up, but from your faithful and intelligent stereotyping of myself as I now fill the place allotted to me. If you see the marks of vice in my face, don't extenuate them: if you see indications of virtue, copy them also. Whether the lines of cruelty, of ambition, of fanaticism, or only the results of a stern sense of duty, be visible in me,

let the same be visible in my portrait. My character will be a matter of interest for future ages, a matter of history : but this it will be only so far as it is faithfully represented. Try your utmost, you will not make my form so perfect, so consistent in all its parts, as the Almighty has made it : and I have no wish to be distorted in any direction to fit in with an ideal of your own creation.'

The same advice has been given by the greatest minds in all ages, and been followed by the greatest artists. 'The source of delight' (in art), said Aristotle, 'is *conformity* to nature.'¹ The 'end,' said Shakespeare, 'to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature.'² 'Paint me as I am,' said Cromwell. 'The great Book of Nature' is, 'at once the source, and end, and test of art ;' *individuality* its sole essential quality.

It is said that Bernini the sculptor, when he saw Vandyck's triple portrait of Charles I., said that Charles was a man doomed to misfortune. This was no mere game of chance. Charles's inmost soul must have been shown by Vandyck on that canvas. And Bernini could trace in his countenance the signs of uncompromising resistance ; a resisting force that would break, but never bend. And though marks of gentleness were also visible, still through them all was seen that spirit of unquenchable determination, which would never yield to expediency, even in appearance, a vestige of what he considered his due prerogatives. Such a mind coming into collision with the rising spirit of independence in the country must result in calamity. Greatly as the event shows the talent of Bernini as a physiognomist and a judge of character, it shows still more forcibly the conscientious faithfulness, the life-like individuality, of Vandyck's representation.

It was surely not Cromwell's fault that Vandyck died before he (Cromwell) came into power : had he lived, there is no reason to suppose that he would have been neglected. But there were no more Vandycks. As it was, Cromwell

¹ *Rhetoric*, Book I., ch. xi. (Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἡδύ).

² *Hamlet*, Act iii. sc. ii.

did the best he could for the art, by encouraging those who had taken Vandyck as a model. If, therefore, the art of portrait-painting deteriorated in any degree during the Commonwealth, it was due to accidental circumstances, and not to the supposed enmity of the ruling powers. Like music, it suffered more real injury from its indiscriminate multiplication under Charles II.

The progress of sculpture proper at this period it is almost impossible to trace, and no conclusions can be drawn from it. There appear to have been only three men of any mark, and all were foreigners. Le Sueur came over in the reign of Charles I., Cibber during the Commonwealth, and Gibbons after the Restoration, but none of them succeeded in founding an English school. What native sculptors there were did not sign their names to their works, and were so trammelled with the ideas of the Italian school as to be undistinguishable. The art was in its infancy, and was hardly of sufficient growth to feel the effect of political changes. The actual influence on it of the Revolution was insignificant.

But there was already existing a branch of the art which had attained a higher development, and which underwent an unmitigated improvement during the Commonwealth; thus conclusively showing that there is no *necessary* antagonism between Art and Puritanism, but that the Puritan religion, like all other religions, contains within its ranks æsthetic and non-æsthetic minds, art-critics and people wholly indifferent to art. The coinage of the Commonwealth is the finest of modern times: the head of Cromwell on his coins is one of the best specimens of this kind in existence. The engraver was an Englishman, Thomas Simon, the pupil of Briot. This prince of coin-modellers was appointed engraver of the Mint by Cromwell, and was turned out, *more suo*, by Charles II. Cromwell here followed the same lines as he did with regard to painting, but with still more favourable results. Briot, who was a Frenchman, was brought over by the unerring artistic judgment of Charles I., and pursued his career with great success, imparting his style to his pupil Simon, who excelled

his master. In appointing Simon, therefore, Cromwell carried forward the work which was commenced by Charles I. and frustrated by his degenerate son, almost immediately after his restoration.

From this time forward English art ceased to depend on royal support. And it is well that it did so. Charles II., with the best intentions, lacked discrimination. The same may be said of George III., who though he was induced to patronise Reynolds and West, entirely failed to recognise the great merit of Wilson : while James II., William III., Anne, and the first two Georges had no more æsthetic perception than a Red Indian, and Mary wasted hers on cultivating a taste for old china. From the reign of Charles I. to that of George III., the only one of our rulers who gave any encouragement to the growth of native art was the Puritan Cromwell.

ARCHITECTURE.

The history of English architecture is too vast to be fully dealt with in the time at our disposal ; nor can it be tested by the same rules that we apply to the more special branches of art. But we find here the same dependence on religion at a certain period of its history, and the same rapid advance when that dependence ceased. If we go back to the time of the Megalithic temples of Avebury and Stonehenge, referred by some to the Celtic Druids, by others to an earlier Turanian race, we connect them with the religion of the time, and we find no structures of equal interest and antiquity having a secular origin. From this remote period to the commencement of the sixteenth century, through all the numerous disturbances, revolutions, invasions, and importations of new races, all architecture worthy the name was absorbed in the necessities of some form of religion, whether Druidical, Pagan, or Christian. Great as was the work that had been accomplished up to this period, it was limited in its scope. Before it became comprehensive, an independent line must be struck out, the trammels of religion shaken off, and a new

era inaugurated. This occurred at the close of the fifteenth century. With this century the reign of *purely* ecclesiastical architecture finally and almost abruptly terminated. As the emancipation of the drama paved the way for Shakespeare, so did that of architecture for Inigo Jones. Hardly a single ecclesiastical structure of importance can be traced to the sixteenth century,¹ while many were destroyed or defaced, and yet it was in this century that one of the greatest movements in architecture took place. At no former period could any classical style have taken root in the country. But such was the progress now made in the art that by the middle of this sixteenth century John of Padua was able to commence engrafting the Italian orders into English architecture. Nor was native talent wanting to carry on the work thus begun. During the first half of the next century (the seventeenth) the Classical style was rapidly assimilating and expanding under the towering genius of Inigo Jones. For, however imperfect and debased this style was when first introduced, it will not be denied that a great advance in the art took place between 1500 and 1650, and that Inigo Jones, however deficient he might be in patching up old buildings, was, upon the whole, the greatest architect this country has ever produced.

The collapse of ecclesiastical architecture was not brought about by the violent measures of Henry VIII. It commenced, indeed, before he ascended the throne, and long before there was any prospect of a rupture with Rome. It was due, like the Reformation, to an altered mental condition and awakened religious feeling in the mass of the nation, and not to the accidental caprices of a capricious monarch. His was not the mind to influence the character and feeling of a nation. The greater the tyranny of a ruler, the more deep-rooted becomes the opposition to it, and the Puritan revolution was the result of a slow but certain reaction from a state of servile submission to the tyranny of the Tudors. And not only art, but science also, was at this same period released from the trammels of religion. This is another proof that

¹ Bath Abbey is an almost solitary exception.

these events were due to natural and deep-seated causes. Till the sixteenth century medicine was more or less in the hands of the clergy, and had, in consequence, been at a standstill for many centuries. But now a forward movement began under Thomas Linacre and John Caius, and in the first half of the following century the science was raised by William Harvey to a position it had never before attained. And this was distinctly due to its recovered freedom from clerical influence. Had Harvey lived before this emancipation took place, it is possible he might have shared the fate of his forerunner, Servetus, who, a hundred years before, was burned to death by that miserable bigot, John Calvin.

But architecture has not pursued an uninterrupted course. It has, indeed, except in certain matters of detail, made a great advance during the present century, particularly the last few years. Still I venture to submit that it has not attained the position that might have been expected after following for two hundred years in the footsteps of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. For nearly a hundred years of this time the art was at a comparative standstill. What had its progress been a hundred years ago? What actual results can we trace to the time between Wren and Barry?

This stagnation cannot on any theory whatever be traced to the influence of the Puritans. During their short ascendancy there were no English architects of note living, and the causes which prevented the completion of Whitehall were still in existence. Jones was dead, and Wren had not yet commenced his career. But it is due to a very large extent to the cheeseparing policy and perverted tastes of Charles II. If Sir Christopher Wren had been allowed to carry out his plan of rebuilding London we should not now be living in a city the very sight of which is sufficient to damp the ardour of all minds likely to develop architectural talent. It is no answer to say that the King was overruled by his advisers. Whoever they may have been, they were not Puritans; and had Charles I. been upon the throne he would have faced a revolution and death upon the scaffold (as he did for other causes) rather than

lose so splendid an opportunity of beautifying his capital. Had Cromwell been in power his powerful mind would inevitably have appreciated the importance of Wren's plan, and no advisers would alter *his* determination.

With Jones's Whitehall in Wren's London, England would have had the finest capital in the world in an architectural point of view as well as in size. But the powers that were ruled otherwise ; and the result was that, in spite of the vast progress architecture had made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the eighteenth opened under inauspicious conditions from which it never completely recovered. And it cannot be denied that this was due to some extent to the policy of the restored Stuarts and their immediate Hanoverian successors.

While on the subject of architecture a few words must be said on the purging of ecclesiastical buildings by the Puritans. The great bulk of this work had been accomplished long before. It was at the *Reformation* in the sixteenth century that the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformers led them to destroy the works of art which had formed part of what they considered the idolatrous worship of the Church of Rome. Of this work the edict of the Long Parliament in 1643 was but a feeble imitation, and was directed almost exclusively to the breaking of painted windows and the destroying of popish images, pictures, and inscriptions. The tawdry ornaments, wooden confessionals, tin hearts and crosses, and pasteboard statues still seen in magnificent churches on the Continent would seem to show that even in an artistic point of view there may have been some justification for these proceedings. And they were carried out on a definite system. Where a certain standard of Puritan criticism was reached, as at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, all was left *in statu quo*.

Nor is the objection to painted windows entirely without foundation. It is still a question whether the effect of the grandest forms of architecture is not rather diminished than enhanced by a display of brilliant colours in the windows. The tendency of taste in the present day is generally towards

the use of more subdued tints for the interior of houses, and we may see a similar change of opinion take place as to the best form and colour for ecclesiastical windows and other decorations. Of course these were not the reasons that influenced the Puritans. I am merely pointing out the possible results.

No doubt many cathedrals were burnt or otherwise injured during the civil wars. But this is incidental to all wars in the world's history, and is not due to any special antipathy of Puritanism to architecture. For the bombardment of Lichfield, indeed, Charles I. is in some degree responsible. For if a man turns a cathedral into a fortified place he can hardly expect that his enemy will refrain from attacking him on æsthetic grounds. And, moreover, commanders are rarely able to control their soldiers at the moment of victory. The history of the Scotch cathedrals throws considerable light on this subject. It was in 1560, nearly 100 years before the Commonwealth, that the Government in Edinburgh issued an order for the destruction of all 'monuments of idolatry;' and so effectually was this carried out by the zealous Scots, that, as Sir Walter Scott tells us in 'Rob Roy,' Glasgow was the only metropolitan church in Scotland, except the Cathedral of Kirkwall in the Orkneys, which remained uninjured at the Reformation. In 1650 Cromwell took Glasgow by armed force, and, far from destroying or injuring the only intact cathedral in Scotland, he attended service there twice in one day, though subject to great provocation from the Presbyterian preacher. The true Independent Puritans, of whom Cromwell was the type, were always in favour of complete liberty of worship. *All* the authoritative iconoclasm of the time was effected by the decree of the Long Parliament in 1643, when the moderate or Presbyterian faction was in the majority, and *none* by the true Puritans.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion let me direct your thoughts once more to that great movement which took place in the sixteenth cen-

tury, and which led to such important results—viz., the emancipation of art and science from the trammels of religion and superstition. In all its different phases the origin and the result are similar. Its origin is seen in the mental growth of the nation, its result in an increased vitality.

First, early in the sixteenth century, the emancipation of the drama; then its rapid development under Marlowe, Davenant, Ford, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Jonson; and then—William Shakespeare.

Secondly, at the same period the emancipation of architecture; then its development under John of Padua and others; and then—Inigo Jones.

Thirdly, at the same period the emancipation of medicine; then its development under Linacre and Caius; and then—William Harvey.

These sequences resemble one another too closely to be the result of accident. The cause must be looked for in the *rising tide of Puritanism*.

For the followers of Wycliffe had already commenced their onslaught against slavery in all its forms, and not the least important was that by which the arts and sciences were bound down in the iron grasp of sacerdotalism.

I have ventured to bring forward this subject to assist, if possible, in removing some prejudices which have arisen from a cursory view, and which have resulted in an impression that art has suffered from the prevalence of religious ideas of a non-æsthetic type. This, I believe, has not been the case, but, on the contrary, that a real benefit has been conferred upon it by the development of those ideas, both in demonstrating its independence, and in more accurately defining its true limits and functions.

If art is to be permanent, if art is to attain a great future, as it undoubtedly will in this country, the other faculties of the mind must run in parallel lines with it. Unless it is accompanied by an equivalent advance in science and in thought, it will be barren. The exclusive one-sided cultivation of art has been forcibly compared by a modern writer to

a man exquisite in his ruffles, cuffs, and collars, but without a shirt.¹ To all measures for the improvement of the race, art is a valuable, a necessary assistance. But it is not all-in-all sufficient. I fully appreciate the value of so-called æsthetic movements. Though sometimes carried to excess, they have done, and are still doing, useful work. But of the exclusive forms of art-culture we have seen the result in other countries. A hyperæsthetic culture has always been the precursor of national disintegration, and of the subversion of manliness and morality. When Greece reached the summit of artistic excellence her downfall commenced, for the *moral* qualities of the race had not kept pace with the increase of the sensual perceptions. Italy, which has been since the Renaissance the artistic leader of the world, has also been the home of superstition; for here art had outrun the *intellectual* development of the nation. Art cannot attain its full and perfect growth unless all the other mental faculties keep pace with it; and those who claim for it a universal cultus, who tell us that beauty is the sole test of truth and goodness, and that if we cultivate an æsthetic taste virtue will follow as a matter of course, are the enemies of their race and of the culture they profess to worship, and will, if their advice is followed, hasten the downfall of both.

In less civilised times the danger lay in the connection of art with religion. This tended to a gradual increase in the admiration of visible works of art till it reached, as it actually has done among so many of the nations of the world, a state of idolatry. It was the mission of the Puritans in this country to destroy the remains of this connection. In this they were completely successful.

In the present state of our civilisation such gross forms of idolatry do not lie in our way. Our views and feelings are more refined, and our tendency is to worship at the shrine of an imaginary æsthetic influence, which, we fondly imagine, is to be our only and all sufficient guide and ruler. To prevent this consummation is one of the great objects to be attained by the advances of modern thought.

¹ Smiles.

THE DESIRABILITY OF TREATING HISTORY AS A SCIENCE OF ORIGINS.

By J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

I. IT may give clearness to what I have to say with respect to History if I begin with some remarks on what seems to me a less desirable view of History, and of the method of treating it, than that which, I venture to think, should more distinctively, perhaps, than hitherto guide the proceedings of the Royal Historical Society. The less desirable view of History, as I think, is that of the literary man ; the more desirable view of History is that of the man of science. And I shall introduce what I have to say with respect to the scientific view of History by some remarks on the literary view of it as set forth by Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude, and recently defended with much brilliancy by Mr. Augustine Birrell. Deprecating even the attempt to view History as a series of phenomena of which the laws, and hence the purport, may be discovered, Mr. Carlyle counsels us to 'aim only at some picture of the things acted, which picture itself will at best be a poor approximation, and leave the inscrutable purport of them an acknowledged secret ;' and to be content if but 'here and there an intelligible precept, available in practice, be gathered.'¹ And so Mr. Carlyle's most distinguished disciple, Mr. Froude, declares that the History of Man 'seems to him like a child's box of letters with which we can spell any

¹ 'On History,' *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. ii. No. x., 1830.

word we please ;'¹ and therefore, with equal truth or falsehood, either progress or the reverse, or anything else whatever.

2. 'But,' the student of the school of Science exclaims, 'is there, then, no discoverable meaning in the succession of such phenomena as Paganism, Christianity, and that new system of thought and of society which we more or less clearly have in view when we speak of the Modern Revolution? Have the discoveries which prove that the individual is made up of countless cells, and that their birth, life, and death is the condition of his higher life ; have the discoveries which prove a succession of phenomena to which one may not attach any meaning but this definite signification, progressive complexity, progressively harmonious coexistence—have these discoveries no bearing on or analogy with the life of Humanity, the History of Man? And is there no science of logic, no science of proof or of evidence, applicable to humanital as well as to natural phenomena, and is it indeed possible for one to spell what one likes with the press of History without giving others the right to laugh at one's childishness?'

3. It may be said that the view of History presented and method of treating History followed by Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude belong to a past generation, and have now no defender. Would that it were so ! But it is not yet five years since the publication of Mr. Birrell's defence of this view of History and method of treating it ; and the commendations with which his essay was on every side received too surely indicated, I fear, that he was defending views still generally current and popular. And yet he expresses, but in other terms, the view of History to which Mr. Carlyle gave public expression not one but two generations since, in 1830, just sixty years ago. 'History,' says Mr. Birrell, 'is a pageant, and not a philosophy.'² Repeating Mr. Carlyle's phrase 'some picture of the thing acted,' Mr. Birrell says, 'Here we behold the task of the historian.'³ Mr. Birrell, however, adds that 'the historian's end is truthful narration.'

¹ *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, vol. i. p. 1, and compare p. 13.

² *Contemporary Review*, June 1885, pp. 772-75.

³ *Ibid.* 779.

And, as I shall now proceed to show, this definition of the aim of the historian stultifies Mr. Birrell's whole defence of the literary as opposed to the scientific school of historians.

SECTION I.

I. History, in the scientific view of it, is a Science of Origins of which the principles are correlates of those of the general Science of Evolution. And limiting myself to stating three reasons, which make it desirable to treat History as a Science of Origins, the first of these reasons is, that truthful description—*truthful* not merely in details, but truthful in the standpoint from which details are described—is possible only as a result of a scientific study of Origins. Just consider it. The History of Man as unquestionably presents successive strata as does the History of the Earth, or geology. But who that has any acquaintance with the very elements of geology will contend that a truthful, or even approximately truthful, narrative of any one stage of the earth's history could be given without some general and verifiable theory of the origins of the successive strata? How, then, is it possible to dispense with a general theory of the Origins of Civilisation in attempting to write a truthfully descriptive narrative of one of its ages or of one of its lesser periods? How, for instance, is it possible to write a truthfully descriptive narrative of any one period of the history of Christendom without a verifiable scientific theory of the origin of Christianity? For remark that the practical people who pretend to work without theories do not actually dispense with them, but only work on unformulated, incoherent, and false theories. So true is this, that one constantly finds that the despisers of theories are the very men who are the most given to making statements involving the largest theoretical assumptions. Mr. Froude, for instance, declares that 'not patriots, or politicians, or divines are looser, worse, or more troublesome manipulators of History than the philosophers.'¹ And yet, had I now time, I might quote from

¹ *Short Studies*, vol. ii. p. 484.

Mr. Froude numberless historical generalisations not only of the most sweeping character, but such as—if I may be permitted, with due deference, to say it—make it certain that even worse manipulators of History than philosophers are litterateurs.

2. But it may be objected that, if one cannot write a truthful narrative of the whole, or any part of the history of Christendom, for instance, until one has attained a scientific theory of the origin of Christianity, it may be further said that one cannot have a scientific theory of the origin of Christianity until one has a scientific theory of the origin of Civilisation, and that if we are to wait till then we shall never have any more descriptive histories. Well, for my own part, I think that we could very well dispense with further additions to our descriptive histories until we get some clearer light on those problems of origin, the solution of which alone will give the descriptive historian a true stand-point. And surely it must be evident that, however accurate an historian may be in his dates and minor details, the scientific value of his work must ever depend on the truth of his general point of view.

3. But, it may again be asked, can one pretend to know, or hopefully to search for, the general, nay, the ultimate laws of Man's History, while we are in the midst of illimitable uncertainties as to the most recent historical facts? Unquestionably. For have we not long known the general laws of the planetary motions round the sun, and deduced them from the ultimate law of gravity ; and yet, is not the theory of the tides on our own planet still far from complete? In other words the more complex phenomena are, the more difficult it is to understand them, or give a truthful account of them. But the complexity of phenomena depends on the interlacing of laws which are themselves simple. The investigation of origins is the attempt to discover these simpler laws. Nor is it at all beyond hope, therefore, that we shall be able one day to give a truthful account of the more complex phenomena of even the History of Man, founded on verifiable theories of the

general laws of Man's History. Every science, in its full development, differentiates into two sciences—a descriptive science, and a causal or historical science. The science of the earth, for instance, has differentiated into Geography and Geology. And just as there can be no scientific Geography, or description of the earth, without some knowledge of the general laws of Geology, so I maintain that there can be no scientific Historiography, or description of historical periods, without some knowledge of the general laws of Historiology—the general laws, that is to say, of History as a Science of Origins. My first reason, therefore, for thinking it desirable to treat History as a Science of Origins is because of the necessary untruthfulness of historical descriptions till we have solved some of the greater problems of historical origins.

SECTION II.

I. It is a wise rule, however, to consider it always likely that the opinion of one's opponent is by no means without some more or less reasonable justification. Now I am most willing to admit that the opinions expressed by Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude with respect to the theories of philosophers had this much at least of justification, that these theories were, for the most part, almost as false as those implied in the historical assumptions of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude themselves. Mr. Birrell scornfully alludes to the fourteen French and thirteen German Philosophies of History of which Professor Flint has given us an account in his 'History of the Philosophy of History.' Professor Flint's book, however, is one of those which prevent our seeing the wood for the trees. We cannot see Comte for the dozen French, nor Hegel for the dozen German philosophers who stand about him; nor does the scope of Professor Flint's volume permit him to mention the true founder, as I think, of the Philosophy of History, David Hume, the author of the 'Natural History of Religion,' and 'Dialogues on Natural Religion.' Most readily, however, I grant, that even from these giants of the forest, Hume, Hegel,

and Comte, we cannot gather much that is of direct service for the scientific solution of the great problems of History. Ungrateful, however, we should be to these masters of thought, and to Hegel most of all, if we did not acknowledge our indebtedness to them for what is ever the antecedent condition of scientific discovery—stimulus to large views, and, what is still more necessary, discipline in logical thinking.

2. But Mr. Birrell does not seem to be even aware of two circumstances which make the possibility of scientific solutions of great problems of historical origins incomparably more possible now than was the case in the days of Hume, of Hegel, and of Comte. The first of these circumstances is the immense accumulation of new facts in every one of the numberless departments of historical research. Duly to illustrate these triumphs of historical research would require a whole evening, or rather many evenings, and I can here only give one or two illustrations. First, then, consider the immense importance with reference to our whole theory of History of those Chaldean and Egyptian researches which have revealed to us the very beginnings of the wonderful process of Civilisation. Or, again, consider those Chinese researches, due especially to Professor de Lacouperie, which have definitely connected the beginnings of Chinese civilisation with an emigration from the neighbourhood of Chaldea in the third millennium B.C. Or, again, consider those researches which appear to tend at least to the conclusion that, just as Chinese civilisation in the East is derived from Chaldea, so European civilisation in the West—and particularly that Asiatic civilisation of Hellas, which now appears certainly to have preceded its Hellenic civilisation—is also to be traced back to the sacred cradle-lands of Egypt, and more particularly of Chaldea. But, if so, what a sublime idea of the unity of History begins to dawn upon us! Not such a very narrow unity of History as that which Professor Freeman so much insists upon, the unity given by the Roman Empire: nor such a mainly conjectural unity of 'Weltgeschichte' as that

offered us by Hegel : but an idea of the unity of the whole history of Civilisation in all the five Continents which have been the scene of it ! In fine, such a unity of History as research tends every day more and more to verify and to complete !

3. In order, however, to the progress of science, not only new facts are required, but verifiable new ideas. And I have now to state the second circumstance above alluded to, of which Mr. Birrell, in his deprecation of any attempt to treat History scientifically, appears to be unaware. That circumstance is, the enunciation and verification of the great ideas of the theory of Evolution. No doubt this theory has hitherto been applied chiefly to the history of the succession of the species of plants and animals. But we must ever bear in mind that profoundly true as well as finely witty observation of Aristotle's : 'Nature seems not to be episodic in its phenomena like a bad tragedy.' It is, indeed, the sublime conviction of the oneness of Nature in all its spheres that makes all great scientific discoveries possible. For it is a conviction which is but a reflection in the scientific intellect of the sublime reality of oneness. Hence, it is for the student of the History of Man to take over those great principles which have made of the history of Animals a science. Modified they will doubtless be, as well as enlarged. But in the principles of Evolution the student of History has now principles to direct him not only in research for new facts, but in the co-ordination and generalisation both of ascertained facts, and of theoretical principles incomparably more verifiable than those of the old Philosophies of History. And hence the second ground of the desirability of treating History as a Science of Origins is this—we have at length got such an accumulation of new facts, and, in the theory of Evolution, such a fund of new ideas, as make it now possible to treat great questions of historical origins with some assurance of the possibility of scientific solution.

SECTION III.

1. But I have still a third reason to urge in support of the desirability of treating History as a Science of Origins. I contend for such a treatment of History because of the importantly practical consequences which would follow the solution of the larger historical problems. The utmost practical advantage which the literary school of historians even hopes to derive from the study of History is only, in the words which I have already quoted from Mr. Carlyle, that 'here and there an intelligible precept, available in practice, may be gathered.' But profoundly true are those words of Littré's: 'Le sort des destinées sociales et celui de la science sont désormais unis indissolublement.'¹ ('The future of social destinies and that of science are henceforth indissolubly united.') And I venture to say that, considering the vast accumulation of historical facts to which I have just alluded, and considering what is of no less importance, the splendid fund of new ideas which make up the general theory of Evolution—I venture to say that, with the progress of no science are social destinies so indissolubly bound up as with the progress of the science of History.

2. For surely it should be evident that we cannot possibly understand the present without knowledge of the past; and that if we do *not* understand the present, and hence, if our action is *not* in accordance with the forces making at once for our national well-being, and for the general progress of Civilisation, the chances are that our action will be at once suicidal for ourselves and disastrous for mankind. People have no difficulty in seeing that if a man does not understand a locomotive engine, and yet ventures to drive a train, that train will be almost inevitably wrecked. But somehow there seems to be no recognition of such inevitable consequences when one is dealing, not with physical, but with social forces. And yet, not only in their internal arrangements but in their external relations, Civilised States are the most complex of all

¹ *Paroles de Philosophie Positive.*

machines. Nor is this only true, but it is also true—and now, indeed, generally recognised—that the developments lately taken by intellectual, religious, and political forces are driving on to inevitable revolutionary changes of the very gravest character in every one of the great States of the world. So far, however, is it from being recognised that, without knowledge not merely of the facts, but of the laws of past development, we can no more understand present social phenomena, than, without similar knowledge, we can understand present physical phenomena, that I see from the newspapers that a Stead Scholarship is to be founded at Newnham to promote an interest in ‘Present Day History and Politics,’ and serve, in the words of the reporter, ‘as a counterpoise to that attention to the History of the Past which the ancient Universities generally tend to encourage.’ And the writer adds that the scholarship will be awarded to the young lady who writes the best essay ‘On the Progress of the World During the Past Year!’

3. What an instructive account of the progress of the world during the past year that will indeed be which, under the inspiration of a journalist, and with the self-confidence of a girl, nobly scorns academic research with respect to the past millenniums! With women, however, and with the democracy generally, it will no doubt be a popular doctrine that we can know everything worth knowing about progress during the past year without any of the labours of the scientific historian. But just on this account I would urge the importance of that scientific study of the past which can alone enable us truly to understand contemporary forces, and duly to direct political action. And consider the position of the country to which we belong. Great Britain is not a United Kingdom only, but a Confederation of Colonies, and an Asiatic and African Empire; and besides all, a State which may aim at the hegemony of the English-speaking peoples. There is, therefore, no State in the world in which a mistake in the estimate of revolutionary forces would have graver and more far-reaching consequences of every kind, not for ourselves

only, but for the future of social destinies. And hence I say that it is more incumbent upon us than on the citizens of any other State in the world to cultivate that historical Science of Origins which alone, in revealing the past, enables us to understand the present, and not only to forecast the future, but to determine the future, by our own rightly-directed action.

CONCLUSION.

1. Such, then, are the three reasons which I would urge for treating History as a Science of Origins, or, in other words, for a scientific as distinguished from a merely literary treatment of History. And for the sake of the discussion which may follow it may be desirable to recapitulate these reasons. They were first, because a truthful description, truthful not merely in details, but truthful in the standpoint from which details are described, is possible only as a result of a scientific study of origins. Secondly, because we have at length got such an accumulation of new facts and, in the theory of Evolution, such a fund of new ideas as make it now possible to treat great questions of historical origins with some assurance of the possibility of scientific solution. And, thirdly, because of the important practical consequences which would follow that better understanding of the Modern Revolution which is possible only through a solution of the larger historical problems. But these are all reasons which bear rather on the general question than on the more special one as to whether we, as a Society, shall make it our chief aim to treat History as a Science of Origins. And it is on this more special question that I would desire, in conclusion, to offer a few remarks.

2. Now you know that we have lately entered on a new stage of our existence as a Society. We have been incorporated by Royal Charter, and we have taken new, more central and commodious, and therefore also more expensive, premises in Hanover Square. One must, of course, consider things on their material as well as on their intellectual side. I have already, I trust, shown that, on the intellectual side,

very little can be said for the literary, as compared with what may be said for the scientific view of, and method of treating History. And now consider the question in its more material aspect, and, as it more especially concerns ourselves. Suppose we signalise the new stage of our existence upon which we have now entered by the discussion—if not at every one, at most, of our meetings—the discussion of the larger questions of Historical Origins, rather than by the discussion of the details of comparatively minor Historical Events. Can it be doubted that we should thus best increase our membership, and fill our rooms, seeing that, as I have endeavoured to point out, solutions of these larger problems have bearings of such practical importance and popular interest? And to give definiteness to my suggestion, I may name the following dozen subjects on every one of which recent research has thrown new light, and, in many cases, startlingly new light :—

1. 'The Deluge Traditions.'
2. 'The Origins of the Egyptian Civilisation.'
3. 'The Origins of the Chaldean Civilisation.'
4. 'The Origins of the Chinese Civilisation.'
5. 'The Semitic Cradleland.'
6. 'The Origins of Semitic Civilisation.'
7. 'The Ethnological Relations of the Phœnicians.'
8. 'The Eurasian Mediterranean, and the Aryan Home'.
9. 'The Pre-Aryan Civilisation of India.'
10. 'The Origins of East Aryan Civilisation.'
11. 'The Pre-Aryan Civilisation of Greece.'
12. 'The Origins of West Aryan Civilisation.'
13. 'The Pre-Aryan Civilisation of the British Isles.'

So immensely fruitful, indeed, have been the results of scientific historical research, even within the last decade, and so little known are these results beyond the ranks of specialists, that I could easily give two or three similar lists equally long. And what I venture to urge is that, not only with respect to higher intellectual and educative aims, but with respect to lower, yet important material aims, it would be incomparably more conducive to our success as a Society to prefer the

larger questions of Historical Origins, with the whole circle of which no Society as yet deals, to those smaller questions of Modern History on which there is very little to be said that is new, or, if new, of wide general interest and importance, and with which numberless other Societies—Metropolitan, Academic, and Provincial—already deal, and are quite as capable of dealing as is our Royal Historical Society.

3. One word more. There is a suggestion I would ask permission to make with reference to the proposed more general discussion of Historical Origins by our Society. It will be, of course, for the Council to decide whether the suggestion is worth consideration, and what, if so, would be the best means for giving it practical effect. The suggestion which I may perhaps be permitted to make is that it might be desirable to endeavour to bring about some effective union between ourselves and all the other Historical Societies: the Geographical Society, the Anthropological Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Society of Biblical Archæology, the Hellenic Society, the Numismatic Society, the Folklore Society, &c. These societies all devote themselves to special departments of historical research. I should like to see the Royal Historical Society taking for its specialty the co-ordination and generalisation of the results of the researches of all these other societies. And I venture to think that such an impulse would thus be given to the scientific study of History as might not only be in some degree worthy of our national place among the leaders of Civilisation, but might in some degree even tend to give a better and more consistent direction to the policy of Great Britain, as head of the English-speaking peoples.

ON LEARNING AND ON TEACHING HISTORY IN SCHOOLS, AND ON THE RESULTS OBTAINED BY SUCH TEACHING.

By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, Litt. D., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S., F.S.S.

AFTER the most successful conference held by the Royal Historical Society on October 22, 1887, and the admirable paper by Mr. Oscar Browning on the subject of teaching history in schools, it may seem presumption on my part to refer to the subject again.

As, however, the paper already referred to had more special reference to the method of teaching history to be pursued by the professor towards the student, I have ventured to place before the society a few suggestions as to teaching and learning history in more elementary places of education than the college, and with especial reference to the education of lads of the middle classes intended for business, journalism, or the lower professional walks of life. In the course of conversation with many such lads, who, in the course of a few years will be launched into city and country business, I have been repeatedly struck with the very small and disjointed knowledge of history possessed by them, and my object this evening is merely to point out a few thoughts upon the subject that have been pressed home to my mind by early school life, and by conversation with those around me.

May I suggest in the first place that teaching history is too often commenced at the wrong end of the history? An average grammar-school boy can tell you all about the Hephtharchy, Norman Conquest, and Crusades, but is woefully

ignorant as to the history of the past thirty years. He commenced at Egbert, learned of course the story of King Alfred and the cakes, is conversant with the episode of the murder by Ælfrida, and full of information as to the battle of Hastings. He has passed on to the stories of the Normans, can tell you of Cœur de Lion and John of Gaunt, Crecy and Agincourt, and the battles of the Roses, and will possibly have gone as far as Stuart times and Queen Anne, but beyond that, he knows but little, and, important as all this information may be, it is of the most meagre value compared with a knowledge of the history of the last fifty or eighty years.

Ask him as he leaves school about the first Reform Bill, the introduction of the railway, the anti-corn law agitation, the machinery riots, or the causes of the Indian mutiny or Crimean war, and you will speedily be surprised at the ignorance which your questions will reveal. Is not education too often carried on without proper thought to after life and the needs for such learning, or if not, how does it happen that the average lad is well up in the history of the papal aggression in the time of King John, but knows nothing of the appointment of Cardinal Wiseman in 1850 and of Lord John Russell's famous Durham letter? Surely in a business life the necessity for an intelligent knowledge of the stirring events of our own time will be of infinitely more importance than all the knowledge about Perkin Warbeck or the Princes in the Tower. The average man of business, and I may say the average boy of business, takes to politics after leaving school and entering business as he does to food. The lad employed in the bank or city office reads his paper daily, or sees it at a reading-room or institute, and yet must often be at a loss to comprehend accurately or even intelligently much of the information contained in that paper. Should he have journalistic work or authorship in view, he is still more handicapped, and will feel acutely the want of the knowledge he daily requires, and which with business hours, arduous labours, and manhood's stiffened intelligence he will find it difficult to obtain. I woul^d

not say that history should be taught from a merely political point of view, but I would suggest that the History of England from 1800 should be taught intelligently, and that the stress be laid upon that rather than upon history of the Saxon or Norman conquest.

Is it not worth considering whether the severe strain that is placed upon the intellect by the old method of teaching is not of itself intrinsically harmful? You ask the lad of mature years to transport his thoughts and attention back into a remote epoch, to a period of the life and habits of which he knows nothing, to circumstances altogether fresh to him, and you desire to plant and imbed in his mind information as to this period without making him previously conversant with the surroundings and external circumstances of the time. The jump from everyday life back to Saxon times is a very great one, the intellectual strain necessary to properly grasp it considerable, and it is no wonder that the result is a failure. There are no known circumstances to assist the memory and mind, the value of the lesson is reduced, it is looked upon and felt as drudgery, and so it in fact is, and the consequence inevitably follows in quick forgetfulness. Still bearing upon the same subject, I am anxious not to in any way undervalue the study of earlier history, but with regard to that is there not room for vast improvement? Is it not time that even in the schools for smaller boys and girls the old Mrs. Markham style of history should give place to more intelligent method? Not referring in any way to the history *books* by this allusion, I am terming the older method by the generic name of Markham, and suggesting that far too much of legendary history is even now taught and learnt. The desire to gild the pill and sweeten the dose, the opinion (pious if you will) that history will always be distasteful to a school-boy, has led to an earnest attempt to make history picturesque. The points which many of us remember most clearly in our history lessons are the stories. Blondel the musician, the Black Prince, Richard Crookback, and the woman whose cakes King Alfred burned, are all vividly recollected by us.

The wars of history, and especially the greater and more decisive battles, are names to us standing out clearly in our memory, but the internal dissensions, the foreign politics, or the vacillation of monarch or weakness of people that led to them are long ago forgotten if ever even they were learned. History is not romance, it is its very opposite. History is the statement or knowledge of the progress of a nation, with inquiries respecting facts and causes; it is not merely a chronicle nor merely annals, it is something known, as its very word etymology tells us. It is no tale or story;

For aught that I could ever read,
Could ever tell by tale or history,

is the way in which the Bard of the Avon distinguishes history and romance, and yet too often the history *learned* at schools is not history at all, but an interwoven tissue of romance, colour, name, and date. An Englishman learns history to teach him how he has become what he is, and school history seldom aims at this result, although of late, thanks to Green's History and his great work on 'The Making of England,' the improvement shows signs of existence. I would not underestimate the importance of dates. As markers, as integers in the course of events, they are of great value; they fix as nails the facts, they aid us to distinguish period from period and progress from progress, but to call history a collection of dates, to learn parrot fashion by rote a series of dates, and to be able to repeat William I. 1066-1087, William II. 1087-1100, and so on, is to degrade the very name and character of history. History is too often degraded. History is not a list of battles or a list of dates, it is a statement of progress, and the use of gunpowder, the discovery of printing, Magna Charta, and the first representative Parliament, are infinitely stronger and better markers in that progress than the death of the Princes in the Tower, or the Battle of the Spurs, or the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Would the teacher complain of the want of interest shown in learning history, or of the drudgery of teaching it,

and I would with all respect throw back his difficulty upon himself. To teach history one must first love it and then *know* it, and it will require a raising of the standard of the teacher's knowledge to properly impart history to the pupils. A lad is profoundly interested in much of the life around him, and if that be taken as the keynote, as the *motif* to the teaching, and argument is worked back from that, the history will be interesting enough. Professor Mandell Creighton, at the conference already alluded to, suggested beginning at the policeman as an object of youthful curiosity and dread, and working backwards from him as to his power and its source, and no suggestion could, I think, be more valuable. The policeman, the judge, taxes and schools, games and books, the church and the House of Commons, are all fitting starting points for the lecture on history, and if carefully treated there will be found no lack of interest and no lack of beauty in the subject. But on this matter do we not pay too much attention to sweetening the draught, and do we not forget that in after life the boy has to need all this information and therefore should learn it now, and too often is not the class collectively treated as though each lad possessed the same intelligence, the same brain power, the same reasoning faculty, instead of each being wholly diverse one from the other? We cram a class, we do not lead or guide a lad, and the original meaning of the word pedagogue has been forgotten altogether. The old Greeks were wiser; their system embraced question as well as answer, and question by pupil to master and not only by master to pupil. The walk and the talk between masters and pupils, the asking and answering questions, was the method they believed in, and history to them was something known, not something merely remembered by picturesque detail or impressed by pretty story. Is the picturesqueness of detail required, then let it be genuine and not fictitious. The broadside, the early newspaper, the early printed book by Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde, the map, the illustrations and illuminations of sports, costumes, and manners, Strutt's Book of Sports, the Missal and Prayer

Book, are all to be obtained in fac-simile reproductions, and there are the nails for the history ready to hand. A fac-simile of a sheet of Domesday Book and an explanation of its text, specially if it relates to the country and town or district in which the scholars are, will impress upon the minds of the pupils the great value of that invaluable work far better, far quicker, than hours of discourse.

An hour's conversation upon it will open up many a question and many an answer, and the knowledge of the state of the villein and serf and burgess, the feudatory tenant and his relation to the thane, the hide of land and the carucate, the vill and the rape, will all be known and be actual history to the pupil, who will at once have grasped a great epoch in the history of the making of England. In this respect may I suggest the value of a knowledge on the part of the teacher of numismatics? Ready to his hand he will find in the coins the very illustrations of history he needs. Can he not at a glance teach the reign of Charles I. by a tray of his coins or of models of them? The money struck at Oxford, Newark, and Pontefract, the rough execution, the irregular shape from diamond to square, nay, the very legends themselves and varying mottoes, are emphatic preachers as to a troublous age. Does not the pax on the coins of William I. tell its own story and give the motive for a lesson? The seventeenth century tokens have their tale to tell and their light to shed on the life and progress of the age. The leaden cloth seals of Henry VII.'s time tell of trade regulation and parliamentary rule over measurement and make, the episcopal coins of the rule of the Bishops and Prince Bishops, and the Cromwellian series of the hard-headed matter-of-fact Englishmen of the Puritan type; and so the list might be enlarged, but whether by coins, medals, or tokens, pictures, photographs, or models, maps or broadsides, history will be taught, the progress of the people and country exemplified, and information given that in after life will be worth inestimable riches to the man who has to move through a busy business world.

Take the teacher of history of to-day in our grammar schools and boys' schools, and how he is equipped for his work. He has his text book, be it Smith's English History, the Student's Hume, or something of far less value. He may possibly have a map of the country or countries he will speak of, and let us hope he has Green's works ; but beyond that he has no equipment, so lightly does he value the subject of his discourse. An art teacher will have his drawings, his models, his busts, his sections, a scientific teacher his apparatus, microscope and chemicals, and a host of sundries of great value in illustration, but the history teacher deems none of these necessary. He does not even take the walls of his old school nor the habits of the town as illustrations, and coins, books, broadsides, pamphlets, medals, missals, and illuminations, costume, weapons, or even visits to old buildings and local museums, are neglected by him. Too often he is not equipped at all, and how easily he may be possessed of all that will make history at once the easiest, most interesting, and most valued of studies ! In removing from their place of honour the battles and the dates of history, it may be suggested that their places are better filled by the men who made events, and I would suggest greater attention to the authors, dramatists, reformers, than to the monarchs, soldiers, and favourites. Take the average school lad, even of the age of fifteen or seventeen, and ask him of Chaucer, Spenser, or Gower. Question him on English literature, and inquire as to 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' of the 'Vision of Piers Plowman,' or 'Confessio Amantis.' You do not expect him to have read them, but can he even tell you aught concerning them—their position or value in history, their author, period, or character, or anything of what they teach or to what they refer ? Would a lad consider the Canterbury Tales dry and uninteresting if a teacher who knows and loves them explains and illustrates their charming stories ? Is there not anything in the 'Faerie Queene' or Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' to interest your pupil ? If not, why forsooth give him Ovid or Virgil, and expect an interest to be taken in them ? Take Wycliffe again ; and can

any teacher desire a more living illustration of how to teach history than by taking down his Bible? Which of his scholars has ever read the preface to the authorised version 'To the most high and mighty Prince James,' and which lad knows anything of the history of the translation of that marvellous version? Let him start at that and then go backwards to the time of Tyndale and Wycliffe, to Ridley, Latimer, and St. Paul's Cross, and to the Bible chained to the desk. Let him take Coverdale and Calvin, and let him go right back, if he will, to Bede, and then come forward to the revised version, and if he fail to secure and to nail home his history that day it will be his own fault and not that of either pupil or subject. But he must, as I have said before, *love* and *know* his subject, and then with these requisites what has he accomplished? He will surely have opened a chapter of history of most vivid and distinct interest, full of life, movement, and vigour, full, if you will, of colouring and beauty, but, above all, a chapter of truth, and have given the pupils facts for the rest of their lives that will bear fruit ever afterwards. Then how important it is that the customs and habits of the people be understood, their superstitions and their religious life described, the means of communication, the character of trade, and the circulating medium indicated.

The progress of the people in intellect, art, music, dress, poetry, and fiction, in their food, homes and amusements, caste-guilds and popular out-of-door life, titles, salutations, and forms of address; and given all this information, there is some chance for the pupil to grasp the history, to remember its bold outlines and greater facts, and to form a satisfactory account in his own mind of the progress of the nation at that time. This is not to be done merely by lecturing; history must be taught conversationally. To teach is first to show, to guide, to impart, and the pupil must see before he understands. He will see by degrees, not all at once, not in a rush and a hurry, but a question or an answer will show how the progress is being made, and often what appears so simple to teacher is not fully grasped by pupil, and a word, an explana-

tion, an illustration is needed, and then the fact is grasped, the knowledge imparted and planted. And it must not be forgotten that once plant your knowledge, once imbed it deeply in the mental soil, you not only keep out the evil weed but you plant a living reality, which will grow and increase, and which will blossom and bear fruit some day, just when the fruit is needed. A visit to Winchester and the memory of William of Wykeham, a visit to Gower's tomb and the thought of 'Confessio Amantis,' a quotation from Chaucer, a remark as to the growth of English poesy, an odd volume of Beaumont, Fletcher, or Massinger ; the name of Ben Jonson, or a verse from Dryden or Pope, will awaken memories of past lessons, and knowledge will spring up ready to hand for conversation, the essay, the journal, or the book. Once more reverting to the old subject of battles and wars, it must not be overlooked that far too little is taught and learned as to the causes of these events. They are merely effects, and have had great powerful causes too often overlooked. Our average school-boy will tell you of the Peninsular war, and describe the death of Sir John Moore, but ask him why Wellesley and Moore were there, and for what reason English troops were fighting in Spain, and your answer would be both curious and absurd. Mention Waterloo and Moscow, speak of Blenheim and Solferino and Magenta, and he will dilate upon Napoleon and Wellington and Marlborough, but try for the cause of the war, ask for an explanation of why they happened, and you will have the old rhyme quoted to you—

But what they killed each other for,
I never could make out.

Is it creditable to an English school that a fair account of the ambitious projects, the success, and the failure of the little man in a grey overcoat who made Europe tremble cannot be obtained from an average middle-class school-boy, and that he has little or nothing to tell you, except that there were battles at Trafalgar and the Baltic, Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo, and that all were glorious, and the English beat ?

Is that the way that we have taught history? If so, let us take wider views and broader methods, and let us teach history, not as though England formed Europe, and that all that it was important for Englishmen to learn was how we fought the Frenchman, and beat him, hurrah! How we ignore Blücher at Waterloo, and France and Sardinia at Inkermann, and Russia and Greece at Navarino, and with characteristic John Bullism take all the credit to ourselves. We learn and we teach history, I venture to suggest, in far too narrow and restricted a method. While fully aware of the enormities of Henry VIII., or the follies of Charles II., our pupil utterly fails if questioned as to English history in the reign of Louis XVI., and is very likely to say that Louis XVI. was contemporary with Queen Anne, or Charles X. of Sweden fought Napoleon. The lesson of the making of England we may grant as one of the main objects in our teaching; but was England made by Englishmen alone, and is English history all we need to learn, and does that constitute *ἱστορία*? Surely not; and yet contemporary history, the progress of Europe, the politics of each country, and the habits and customs of Russian and Swede, Italian and Spaniard, are neglected altogether in our teaching. We teach about a monarch and his actions and his character, his wives and his favourites, and we imply that the biography of a king or queen more or less highly-coloured forms history, and in that I think we do serious wrong to the mind of pupils. If we name contemporary sovereigns it is only when they happen to be in a state of enmity with our own monarch. In all other ways we ignore them. May I suggest a broader view of history should be taken? And in these days of Continental travel and international intercourse, when John Bull is being somewhat rudely disturbed from his dreams of insular importance, and when we see that other countries are our rivals in both commerce and literature, it behoves teachers to move with the times and teach history in a new manner. The United States has ever since its existence been a very important factor in the progress of our country; from it we

have learned and are daily learning much. To Germany we owe a great deal. To our Danish and Viking blood much of hardihood and strength and courage come, and from France we glean habits of luxury, much comfort and convenience, and the daintier elements of life. All these countries intimately concern us. They are forming and influencing English life, and are moulding Englishmen and forming history ; and yet what average lad knows anything whatever as to the history of the United States? The episode of the tea duty he is probably conversant with ; he will know a little as to the American war ; he can describe the flag and give you information as to the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and talk graphically about the St. Lawrence, Mississippi, Chicago, and Great Salt Lake, and Niagara ; but there the knowledge ends in many cases, and of the real history of the States he knows nothing whatever. As to Germany, owing to the halo of sentiment that has hallowed the memory of the late Emperor, and owing to the Franco-Prussian war and the strong personality of the old Kaiser, Bismarck, and Moltke, the English school-boy is fairly up in their names and knows a bit of their history ; but as for France, beyond knowing it is a Republic, his mind is a perfect blank, and he can tell you nothing of Holland and Scandinavia, which are far beyond his ken. Cannot history be taught in England as history is taught in Vienna? In September 1886 I had the pleasure of visiting the Volksschule, Burgerschule, and Realschule of Vienna, and of giving some attention to their system and method of teaching, and was much struck by it. A comprehensive grasp of European history is taken, the life politics and history of the countries are treated of side by side, and the pupil sees how they act and re-act one upon the other. The consequence is, that the pupil not only learns the history of his own country, but that of Europe and the world ; he understands reasons where others only see effects ; his views are widened, and the picture presented to memory's table is not that of a small corner of the world's history, but a map of the whole on which are diverse currents all co-relating one to the other. The

Austrian lads learned their history with enthusiasm and admired Maria Theresa infinitely more for the knowledge of Frederick the Great, of the battle of Dettingen, of the co-operation of the Dutch, of the treaty of Breslau, of the Quadruple Alliance. Ask our English boy about Maria Theresa and our Viennese about the episode of Dettingen, and contrast the information possessed by the one with that held by the other. Were not the Mont Cenis Tunnel, the Suez Canal, the Panama venture, the freedom of slaves in Brazil, the lives of Tycho Brahe and Copernicus, of Handel and Raphael, events of moulding influence upon all Europe? Were not the Siege of Leyden, the Peace of Aix, the Edict of Nantes, and the League of Augsburg, stirring events in European history? And yet to many they are mere names, only confusing in the mind, conveying no right impression, heard of, read of, but not *known*, and left widely out of the question in learning history and in teaching the progress of a nation or a people.

A question put to a lad of nineteen a few weeks since as to the Holy Roman Empire, even after he had been going through a series of history lectures, and the answer, which revealed the fact that he thought I referred to the Papal States, is not an unfitting example of the way in which Continental history is taught; while the confusion which existed in the mind of another between Gustavus Adolphus and Gustavus Vasa, is a further illustration of the same result. To refer, even briefly, to Church history, is to touch upon so great a subject as to be beyond the limits of this paper. Mention must, however, be made of the shocking ignorance on the part of the ordinary commercial Englishman as to the history of his own Church and the gross stupidity too often shown, too often exhibited, by him, when the Anglican and Roman questions are discussed. As a rule he knows nothing of his Church before Augustine; nothing of it during Norman or Plantagenet times; little of the struggle between Langton and the Pope, between the clergy and the King; and it is only in the time of Henry VIII. that he knows anything of the history of his national Church.

He often looks upon her as a creation of King Hal, as a new invention in Tudor times, and of her vicissitudes later, of Sancroft and Bishop Hoadley, or of the Test Act or Catholic Emancipation, he is lamentably ignorant. There are two further points to which I would venture to allude, and one is that of local history. Take the case of a local grammar school, in which many of the lads—perhaps the greater part—are from the neighbourhood, and not from London. Why should they not be taught local history? The history of a town is that of a county, and of a county that of the state, and the history of a town and of a county will be found replete with interest. Its early inhabitants and its later residents, its language, place names, and characteristics, its special part in the making of England, the features generally of its buildings, and from what sources did their characteristics arise. Its invasions, its risings, its insurrections, its war episodes, its authors, its great men, in a word its history, a statement of its progress. Surely the very stones of the buildings, the very walls of the town, its name and its people, are vivid lessons in history to make Englishmen proud of their country—to give them justifiable pride in their homes and their hearths, teach them the history of the place where they live, and in teaching learn with them the history of the spot in which it pleases Providence you should live and work.

There is, further, what one would term 'daily history.' History is being formed around us day by day, and our newspapers tell us of it. Far be it for us to suggest that the school become a hot-bed of politics, and that history-learning degenerate into political wrangle, or to recommend the discussion of controversial matters; but surely the faults of so many politicians arise from their too small and too slight knowledge. Talk about the questions of the day, shun them not. The scholars talk about them at home and hear them discussed, and in the spirit of students seeking knowledge, and of patriots glorying in progress, let them be judiciously and calmly discussed. Did not the recent

enlargement of the franchise mark an historical epoch, and did not the Local Government Act make a still more startling change in county history? Why not discuss them? Why not inquire of the lads how and by whom they are governed, who has charge of the roads, and who the poor, who sustains and who governs the workhouses and asylums, what are waywardens, and what are overseers, and what are their duties, who elect county councils, and what are they for? Let the subject be real, illustrate it by the real names if you will, have the Acts to refer to, set the lads to find out about the various bodies and to question the teacher, and, depend upon it, a body of good citizens will be trained up, able to take their proper positions in life, able to know and carry out their duties, and able to speak to others who have not had such beneficial training in a judicious manner as to their privileges and rights. All these subjects are far removed from the antagonism of party politics, they are national rather than political, and no party acerbity or political feeling need be imported into the discussion or lecture. To discuss an error or an evil and to suggest no remedy, nor to point to any cause, would be of small value, and would be foreign to the work of this society; and we are now brought face to face with the question as to the reason for so unfortunate a method of teaching. Partly, of course, it is the fault of the teacher, who, as before mentioned, is so poorly equipped for so important and serious a task; partly it is the result of ignorance of the high value of history in education and to a contempt for its study, although this is also a result as well as a cause; but mainly it is very much the fault of the examination papers presented to the pupils. Whether rightly or wrongly, all results of school life nowadays are tested by examinations, and as long as the examination papers adopt the old method and conservative habit of teaching, the system will not improve. At haphazard, the following questions are selected from the matriculation examination of 1880, and they illustrate very fairly the old system.

The pupil is asked by Professor Henry Morley:—

Write a life of Edward the Black Prince.

Give the date of the accession of Henry VIII. Mention the names of his wives, children, and chief ministers, adding the fate of each.

What important events happened in English history in the following years: 937, 1166, 1304, 1360, 1461, 1513, 1628, 1645?

What were the important legislative measures passed in the reign of William I. and give your estimate of the personal characteristics of that monarch.

What were the several rights by virtue of which the throne was claimed by the House of Lancaster?

These are six questions out of a sheet of but fourteen, and none could more fittingly illustrate the evil. Far be it from me to criticise so prominent and valued a scholar as Professor Morley; but in this connection the words of Herbert Spencer in his work on 'Education' are of the greater value. He says, commenting on this very subject: 'The biographies of monarchs (and our children learn little else) throw scarcely any light upon the science of society. Familiarity with court intrigues, plots, usurpations, or the like, with all the personalities accompanying them, aids very little in elucidating the causes of national progress. We read of some squabble for power, that it led to a pitched battle, that so many were killed and wounded on each side, and that so many were captured by the conqueror. And out of all the accumulated details making up the narrative, say which it is that helps you in deciding on your conduct as a citizen. If it be contended,' Mr. Spencer goes on to say, 'that these are facts (such at least as are not wholly or partially fiction), it must be admitted that the liking felt for certain classes of historical facts is no proof of their worth, and that we must test their worth as we test the worth of other facts, by asking to what uses they are applicable. These are facts from which no conclusions can be drawn, *unorganisable* facts, therefore facts of no service in establishing principles of conduct which is the chief use of facts. Read

them,' he concludes, 'if you like, for amusement, but do not flatter yourself they are instructive.'

Mr. Spencer, in a later paragraph on the same subject, states that 'the only history that is of practical value is what may be called Descriptive Sociology, and the highest office which the historian can discharge is that of so narrating the lives of nations as to furnish materials for a comparative sociology and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform.' So says Mr. Spencer, and most fully do we coincide with his views. The standard must be raised if the teaching is to be raised, the examinations must be on the improved lines or the teaching will not be, and the teacher must be trained to regard history teaching as one of the most important of his duties, and one which if well carried out will do more to fit the pupil for life than any other study that is not of a religious character.

The lectures of the University Extension Scheme are aiming at this result, but we fear they are too full of generalisation, too little practical, and have far too great an absence of illustration and equipment to make them of lasting great value.

Once let teachers grasp the importance of teaching fact and not fiction, illustrating it by vivid and real illustrations, and educating our youth in what has made England great, and in the combined progress of all nations and all people, and a grand forward step will have been made in what is of real importance, true and lasting, in school education. Our society has done much in raising its voice on behalf of rational education in history, and more yet might be done in pressing home the value of such teaching upon parents and teachers, and a grand field of operation would lie before the society in this work, and a magnificent result may be achieved, fraught with great and lasting good to England. The old song may perhaps be quoted against me, and the argument of the shortness of life be used, and it be said :—

Could a man be secure
That his days would endure,
As of old for a thousand long years,
What things he might know
What deeds might he do,
And all without hurry or care.

I may be told of the limited time at a lad's disposal for the acquisition of learning. But to this I would reply in more words of Herbert Spencer, and with these words conclude the matter more fittingly than with any of my own.

'Remembering,' says Spencer, 'how narrowly time is limited, not only by the shortness of life, but also still more by the business of life, we ought to be specially solicitous to employ what time we have to the greatest advantage. Before devoting years to some subject which fancy or fashion suggests, it is surely wise to weigh with great care the worth of the results as compared with the worth of various alternative results which the same years might bring if otherwise applied. . . . Before there can be a rational curriculum,' he concludes, 'we must settle which things it most concerns us to know, or to use a word of Bacon's, now unfortunately obsolete, "to *determine* the relative values of knowledge." '

THE PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH DURING THE SESSION 1889-91.

(Prepared by Order of the Council.)

THE support and encouragement given by successive Sovereigns, Parliaments, Ministries, and departmental offices to the cause of historical research in this country have long since been gratefully acknowledged by the great body of European students. From the primitive practice of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when literary sovereigns and their great officers of state admitted favoured historiographers to a private view of current despatches, or when the same fortunate scribes were allowed to inspect the archives in the royal Treasury itself by the good offices of its guardian clerks, down to the modern system of 'permits' granted with a rare liberality by the Secretaries of State and other departmental heads to students of every rank and nationality to inspect comparatively recent archives, the Government of this country has manifested a consistent regard for the interests of historical truth which the Governments of other countries have been led in turn to emulate and even to surpass.

But this is by no means all that historical research owes to the liberality of the Crown. It owes a still larger debt of gratitude to the providence of recent administrations for an establishment and endowments which have preserved, restored, arranged, and to a great extent published the unequalled collection of Public Records and State Papers and which have simultaneously embraced the preservation, restoration, arrangement, and gradual publication of other invaluable collections in private custody.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards instances of the solicitous attention paid by the Crown to the proper preservation and concentration of the national archives abound in the enrolments of the Chancery and Exchequer. These archives were preserved with the money chests and regalia in the treasure-sanctuary of Westminster. The site of this treasure-house can no longer be determined ; its iron-bound chests are represented by a few battered fragments ; bezants and nobles and silver pennies exist at the present day only in museums ; jewels, cups, and robes have long since vanished ; but perishable parchment or paper, and fragile wooden tallies, have survived. The Domesday Survey has outlived eight centuries without a flaw ; the form of the great Crown of England is that of a nineteenth century bauble.

The reforms in the method of safe-guarding the public records begun by Bishop Stapleton in the reign of Edward II., and extended under James I. to the custody of the State Papers, received a fresh impulse at the beginning of the present century through a series of Parliamentary Commissions which culminated some thirty-five years ago in the amalgamation of the Record and State Paper Offices and the foundation of the Rolls Series of historical publications. Since that date a long list of exemplary editions has been compiled which are literally household texts to the modern student, and during the last two years (the period embraced in the limits of the present survey) a consistent progress has on the whole been made in this department of State-aided historical research.

The record of a year's work at the Public Record Office, London, as set forth in the Reports of the Deputy Keeper, is a most instructive return. The number of documents issued to and inspected by the public amounts to over 40,000 annually, while 10,000 more are produced on the requisitions of government departments for naval, military, or diplomatic services. The study of law, history, biography, and genealogy can only be satisfactorily pursued in the present day by

reference to the records of the past, and modern students of each of these branches of literature have become antiquaries or archæologists in a new and wider sense. The historian especially can no longer satisfy the requirements of his readers from the resources of the best-stocked library, and unless the material which he is in need of has been printed or calendared in official or private publications, he must go in search of it himself or employ some humbler worker on his behalf. Thus it happens that the modern historian or his collaborator is responsible for a large proportion of these 40,000 applications.

The Record establishment is not, however, exclusively engaged in catering for the present intelligent demand for historical evidence; it is even still more busily occupied in repairing the neglect and errors of the past. The traces of grievous ill-usage and mutilation, the ravages of damp and vermin, have been effaced from hundreds of thousands of membranes and paper folios by a band of workmen as skilful in their craft as the members of a mediæval guild, while many thousands of bundles, bound volumes, and rolls have been numbered and stamped preparatory to classification and eventual publication. Finally the several classes of Records and State Papers are described by official experts in indexes, catalogues, or calendars, which are displayed for reference in the public Search Rooms. These useful labours are strictly subsidiary to the historian's mission of research, which they alone render profitable or complete.

The Public Record Office has yet another task to accomplish. It is the publishing department of State-aided research in this country. The long list of Calendars and Chronicles and Reports which have issued from the Rolls House during the last thirty years form a collection of historical texts and abstracts unequalled in any other country. This is the framework around which the fair forms of our historians' masterpieces have been built up.

Several important editions have appeared during the last two years. The Calendars of State Papers of the reigns of Henry VIII., Charles I., and the Commonwealth have each

advanced another stage, together with the Calendars of Irish, Colonial, and Treasury Papers, while succeeding volumes are even now in the press. A new Calendar has been founded for the period following the Revolution, and another to deal with the acts of the Tudor Council, which are not yet classed as Public Records. Moreover, the Deputy Keeper, as the official director of the whole work, has lieutenants also in several capitals of Europe, entrusted with the editing of calendars or the preparation of transcripts of historical materials relating to his country preserved in foreign archives. The Calendars of Venetian and Spanish documents are well known, and they are supplemented by equally valuable discoveries in Rome and Paris, all of which would otherwise have remained practically inaccessible to English students.

The appearance of each new volume of the series of calendars is a welcome event to hundreds of historical students. The gaps which still remain are being fast closed up, but there are many who view with regret the enforced suspension of the modern Calendar of Home Office Papers for the reign of George III. and the prolonged interval which has elapsed since the issue of the last volumes of Foreign State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth, and Domestic State Papers of the reign of Charles II.

The contemporary series of Chronicles and Memorials of the Middle Ages is at length drawing to its close. Chronicles in the shape of histories, *ab initio mundi*, are now somewhat discredited as a means to historical research, and in their place, it seems, we are to have a revival of the old series of Record Publications, now so highly valued and so difficult to procure. The 'Red Book of the Exchequer' and 'Parliamentary Petitions of the Reign of Edward I.' (both edited by Fellows of this Society) are already announced, and it may be hoped that they will be succeeded by other editions, of which the historical community stands in equal need. The time, moreover, has surely come when the work of publishing the State Papers of the last 150 years should no longer be

left to foreign historians. This neglect has too long been a reproach to our enlightened Government.¹

In this direction too much praise cannot be awarded to the new device of publishing Record Calendars in a separate form, and not merely as appendices to the Deputy Keeper's reports. In this way, several valuable works—such as the calendars of Ancient Deeds and Patent Rolls—have already become available for convenient reference, and a regular addition to the series may be henceforth expected. Amongst other Blue Books issued by the Stationery Office, Mr. Scargill-Bird's 'Handbook to the Public Records' has excited considerable attention and should prove invaluable to inexperienced searchers. The national series of State Trials has also been lately continued down to the year 1840, a work of the greatest constitutional importance.

Lastly, the recent publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission remain to be noticed—a series which is also issued under the direction of the Deputy Keeper. Further instalments of the House of Lords and Melbourne Papers have been issued, together with reports on the Fleming, Athole, Home, Beaufort, and Charlemont MSS.

On the whole, the Record work of the last two years must be a subject of considerable satisfaction to the Master of the Rolls, by the exertions of whose predecessors in office this priceless boon was conferred upon the literary public, and a matter of still greater congratulation for his Deputy Keeper—the real *magister scriptorii*, to whose administrative ability and scholarly instincts the marked progress that has been recorded is principally due.

The exertions made by the English Record Office in the cause of original research have been ably seconded by the kindred establishments in Scotland and Ireland. The record of a year's work at the Four Courts in Dublin is a repetition of that accomplished in Fetter Lane, on a smaller scale, whilst

¹ It is discouraging, however, to read in the latest official catalogue that 'the material reduction of the amount voted in Parliament' for this service has 'prevented the undertaking of any fresh work since 1885.'

the latest instalments of the Scottish Record publications, including a notice of all documents relating to Scotland preserved in English archives, are entitled to the highest praise.

Colonial Governments, with all the zeal of younger nationalities, have followed fast in the footsteps of the parent State. The Canadian Archives, under the direction of Mr. Douglas Brymner, have been enriched by a complete series of transcripts from Colonial State Papers in England and France down to a comparatively modern date. The Australasian governments have undertaken almost similar researches, the first fruits of which have recently been gathered in the shape of the first volume of an official history of New South Wales, based entirely upon original documents.

Abroad we find that the work of preserving, arranging, and publishing the State archives in several countries has been carried on with equal vigour and success, although the want of more liberal assistance in the shape of public grants is keenly felt, especially in Germany. In France, where literature and art are under the care of a ministerial department, the work of arrangement and publication has steadily advanced; and there is probably no country whose public records are more perfectly classified in relation to their bulk. But though still somewhat deficient in respect of Record publications, each of these great countries possesses a truly national series of historical texts in the *Monumenta Germaniæ* and the *Documents Inédits*. The more liberal endowment of the Rolls Series is, however, still the envy and the admiration of foreign scholars, and the knowledge of this opinion should deter the Treasury from effecting any further reductions in the parliamentary grant.

Although the visits of Colonial and American, as well as of Continental, historians to the London Record Office have become more frequent during the last few years, while the archives of foreign capitals, like the Hague and Copenhagen, have received a fair share of attention, 'all roads' to the European student still 'lead to Rome;' and it is satisfactory to learn that, during the past year, improved accommodation has been

provided for students at the Vatican—yet an inexhaustible mine of historical material.

Next to the direct subvention of the Crown we must consider the influence of its patronage extended to Academies and Societies. The greater number of these, it is true, have neither the opportunity nor the need of such protection, but in any case the corporate form and government are virtually the same in all. The bare enumeration of the titles and recent publications of these learned bodies alone would more than fill the space allotted to this sketch. It would be found, however, that the greater number have considerably extended their existing sphere of usefulness. It is usual to criticise the products of this amateur co-operation with indulgence. In reality they would pass a much sterner examination with credit. These favourable results have been more especially attained by those English societies which have devoted themselves exclusively to the publication of records or of manuscript texts out of official custody. It is unnecessary in this connection to enlarge upon the excellence of the editions authorised by long-established societies like the Camden and Surtees. Younger bodies, like the Pipe Roll and Selden Societies, have done even better, giving rise, indeed, to a growing opinion that here once more Individualism will force the hand of the State. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that in three separate directions the society founded by the late Mr. Walford Selby has set itself to complete the unfinished work of the old Record Commission. The great gap in Mr. Hunter's published Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century has been already half-spanned, and now a continuation of Sir Francis Palgrave's 'Rolls of the King's Court' is promised, with Professor Maitland as editor. An admirable volume of 'Ancient Charters' accomplished and progress made with a continuation of the Record edition of Twelfth Century Fines, complete the ambitious programme of this deservedly successful type of the latter-day historical society. This, in truth, is only a type. The Selden Society is rapidly doing the work that properly concerned but was wholly neglected by the

Inns of Court, and has even threatened another outpost of the Rolls Series. The Huguenot Society within a year or two of its birth has developed literary sinews capable of grappling with one of the most difficult and neglected historical problems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ The Arundel Society has published the important Life of Bartolomeo Colleoni, edited by Mr. Oscar Browning. Finally, the Royal Historical Society itself, though of much older foundation and resting upon a firmer basis of constituted authority, has adapted itself to the new methods of research by the publication of several important historical texts or expositions and the projection of a uniform series in succession to them.

In the New World and on the Continent the same spirit of scientific inquiry has been extended to local, national, and universal history alike.

In this country we are justly proud of the excellence of our provincial societies. Archæology is naturally their strong point, but all branches of historical research are touched upon in the present day and illumined. Some of these societies have the means and the self-devotion to employ professional agents to transcribe the local entries in the Public Records. Others are busied with the preservation of local records and ancient monuments not yet provided for by the State. Nothing could better illustrate the progress of historical culture than these facts. The Government withdrew the Public Records from the lax custody of the provincial *Custos Rotulorum* for better treatment in a central repository. To-day the local historian anticipates their official description by his pious labours. The publications of such Societies as the Yorkshire, Surrey, and Wiltshire Archæological Societies will illustrate our meaning. All are indeed fortunate in possessing such a model in the great journal of the parent society at Burlington House as it is now conducted. The

¹ A selection from military and diplomatic State Papers during the Third Coalition, edited by Mr. Oscar Browning, is in progress. It may be noticed also that the Folk-lore Society, which is concerned, among other things, with the origins of history, has quite recently held an important congress in London, where the Oriental Congress has already concluded its session.

change that has taken place is still more strikingly demonstrated in the improved character of the modern County History. Scottish antiquaries form an independent body which has nothing to learn from its English contemporaries, and Celtic scholars in Ireland have no cause for jealousy of Anglo-Irish editors. The recent work of the Cymmrodorion Society of Wales has been a distinct feature of archæological progress during the last few years.

In America almost every State has its Historical Society with accredited agents in the Old World. Congress has not yet decided to authorise the formation of a national collection of transcripts from European Archives at Washington, but the great Civic Libraries and State Societies have taken the matter into their own hands as far as the constitutional documents of the War of Independence are concerned. The series of fac-similes of American State Papers in European Archives issued to subscribers by Mr. B. F. Stevens is a landmark in historical research, and it is possible that this system may be universally adopted, at least in respect of unique or inaccessible manuscripts.

While all the great continental nations have their Academies and Societies of royal or private foundation, France is in advance of the rest in the department of Archæology at least. The great central Societies of History and Antiquities are supplemented by provincial societies of European repute, while purely local archæology is treated by an infinite number of scientific flourishing bodies.* The progress of local research is, however, almost equally marked in Italy and Spain and amongst the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Slavonic nations.

Next to the historical work accomplished or initiated by Societies, that of municipal, ecclesiastical, and academic corporations deserves a passing notice. The Library Committee of the London Guildhall, in addition to its current work, has projected an extensive scheme of historical publications, and the valuable edition of the Middlesex records at Clerkenwell has been continued by the local authorities.

Other municipalities, like Nottingham, have either published calendars themselves, or have given further facilities for this purpose to the inspectors of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. This progress is all the more satisfactory since it will tend to remove a long standing reproach from our municipal arrangements.

In like manner the treasures of our Cathedral archives have been freshly revealed, a good work in which the State and learned societies have willingly co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities. There never was a period in which Dean and Chapter showed such practical interest in the perpetuation of their historical evidences. The work done at York, Winchester, Canterbury, Wells, and Salisbury, is but an instance of recent attention to the subject.

The position of the two great English Universities, their colleges and schools, cannot be properly compared with that of the learned Societies in the active direction of historical research, so that it is most misleading to compare the results of lay and academic studies. Here once more, however, Individualism has prevailed ; and the individual is a worthy representative of the school which should be the criterion of historical learning in this country.¹

This is the age of periodical publications, and the interests of historical research have herein been fully represented in this and other countries. At home the place of honour may be given to the 'English Historical Review,' with the features and merits of which the Fellows of this Society are especially familiar. This journal stands alone as the representative organ of English historical scholarship, but there are local historical magazines of considerable merit, together with a newly-founded Economic Journal ; while in the kindred studies of Antiquities, Archæology, and Genealogy, it would be difficult to surpass the standard at present attained by such journals as 'The Antiquary,' 'The Reliquary,' 'The

¹ Among the recent historical publications of the University Presses, Professor Cunningham's exhaustive History of 'English Industry and Commerce' may be specially mentioned.

Genealogist,' 'The Folk Lore Journal,' and the late 'Archæological Review.' The professional and service periodicals lend themselves readily to the publication and discussion of contemporary research, and even the literary Quarterlies and Monthlies sometimes startle us by the publication of an original essay of rare value. In the province of journalism proper, the political and literary weeklies are inexorable in their demand for real research, as opposed to impudent book-making or even mere 'fine writing.' The Daily critics are perhaps beginning at last to distinguish between the true and the spurious article.

There is yet another branch of endowed or organised research to be dealt with before the recent work of individual historians is approached, the co-operation of various specialists in the now fashionable dictionaries and historical series. The former obviously fall within the limits of historical research, and research is there, but it is not always present. Nothing, for instance, could be more uneven than the work of the monumental 'Dictionary of National Biography,' wherein the life of a distinguished soldier or sailor is usually set down with a minuteness of detail which shows how far the study of naval and military history is in advance of that of Sociology. Who, for instance, will search the actual Rolls of the Exchequer or King's Court or Chancery for a record of the services of a mediæval clerk as the others search the Muster Rolls and Paybooks of the Forces, while Le Neve and Foss are ready to hand, or who will turn over the unpublished despatches of a diplomatist or verify the appointment of a court official in the books of the Household?

A 'Dictionary of Economic Terms' is the latest addition to serial publications, and the first instalment gives promise of much good and unassuming work. The scientific study of economic history is the latest and certainly the most important feature of recent historical research.

As for the historical hand-books comprised in the numerous series issued to the public during the last few years, it is enough to say that they are good of their kind, which is not

the creation of historical research, but which perhaps tends, more than the average text-book, to a true perception of historical truth. At the very last moment, however, a more important series has been commenced with the first volume of the Camden Library, written by of a Fellow of this Society.

Abroad historical research is even more fully represented in periodical literature than in this country. In Germany there is more than one 'Zeitschrift' and 'Jahrbuch' quite inimitable in its way. The recent 'Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft' is the best known example, to which may be added the 'Neues Archiv' of Hanover. In France the 'Revue Historique' is good, but the 'Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique' is a unique production, like the work of the Society which it represents. In addition to these and similar publications in other countries, there are a number of lesser periodicals which chronicle the progress of archæological or special research.

The labours of individual historians during the last two years have resulted, as might have been anticipated, in an output of very unequal value. A certain amount of capital and influence is required for the undertaking of works of real research, and herein the State or corporate body possesses a decided advantage over the individual. The latter perhaps has more scope in respect of literary style and in the choice of subjects, but this superiority is less marked in works of the present day. Abroad, however, and especially in Germany, the work of individual historians is, on the whole, as original and accurate as that of the best official editors in this country. It must be remembered that the audience of the serious English historian, however fit, is a remarkably small one, and the probability of his works proving more than barely self-supporting, is exceedingly remote. On the other hand, the writer who addresses himself to the general reader, or who undertakes to provide a want experienced in educational circles, has a good chance of receiving a very substantial return for labour expended. The

disparity has frequently been remarked, and is perhaps inevitable.

This will perhaps explain the undoubted fact that, without the subvention of the State or of a corporate body, very few works of real research have been recently produced by individual enterprise compared with the total number of historical publications in this country. Taking a list of selected historical works on Great Britain and Ireland during the last years, and putting on one side the publications of the Rolls Series; the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the University Presses and learned Societies, and on the other side the various serials—‘Men of Action,’ ‘English Statesmen,’ ‘Epochs,’ and the like, and omitting further those numerous essays which are based on individual theories and mere compilations from printed authorities—the *residuum*, representing the progress of historical research, is infinitely small; in fact, the works which it includes may literally be counted on one’s fingers. Of course the selected list in question is usually exceedingly imperfect. It would for instance probably omit original and exhaustive monographs in naval, military, local or Colonial¹ history—specialities of English historical workmanship wherein chiefly it can claim an equality with continental research. But with every allowance made, the result is far from creditable to the soundness of historical methods as employed by English historians. It is not to be expected, however, that each returning year should witness the production of some great historical masterpiece. These in their very nature must be rare, and their appearance constitutes an event and a landmark in our literature. The great living historians give signs of continued vitality, but the question is becoming every day more urgent, what is an historian, and what is the scope and future of history? Can history any longer be written without recourse to co-operation, and can any historical work be satisfying that is not based wholly upon contemporary and authentic materials? It is a

¹ The researches of Mr. Darnell Davis in the West Indies, and of Mr. Theal in Cape Colony, are particularly noticeable.

characteristic fact, for instance, that histories of 'our own times' continue to appear, when the materials on which they should be chiefly based are notoriously under lock and key.

It would nevertheless be very unfair to estimate the value of such contemporary historical research by a mere return of publications. Many great works, for instance, have been in progress, of which instalments or earlier editions have already appeared, or which may not yet see the light for several years to come. In other cases, workers who are well known as investigators of the original sources of history have been continuously engaged in the most valuable researches, which have been published in some less ostentatious manner than in the pages of a formal volume. In order to ascertain what has really been accomplished, we should need to know also what has been attempted by visitors to the various repositories of manuscripts and contributors to periodical publications. It would be desirable also to subdivide the historical publications for Great Britain and Ireland into the several departments of political, social, economic, constitutional, naval, military, ecclesiastical, Keltic, local, and Colonial history, both mediæval and modern, with a section devoted to notices of works on law, antiquities, genealogy, biography, and bibliography. A new heading might also be made for general history, as is usually done in the case of universal history, to include works of a comprehensive character which evince no special research.

But although there has been a dearth of works of research produced by private enterprise since the plentiful publishing seasons of 1888-9, there has probably never been a promise of so rich a harvest of historical literature in the immediate future, nor so many able labourers already at work. To give a single instance, a 'History of the Reign of Stephen' is promised by Mr. J. Horace Round from original authorities, and on a scale which cannot fail to stamp it as a most important contribution to the history of the twelfth century. Matters are somewhat different on the Continent, where, as previously stated, the State is not so active a patron of

research, nor are learned Societies in such a prosperous condition as in this country. Consequently there is greater need and more room for the exertions of individual historians, and they have, as usual, not been found wanting.

Out of a list of recent works of research which outnumber those of English writers nearly fifty-fold, it would be invidious to particularise a few where so many are deserving of honourable mention. Moreover, the slightest attempt in this direction would involve the compilation of a formidable list of 'best books' in several departments of history. It will perhaps be sufficient to refer to the convenient bibliographies appended to the 'English Historical Review,' the 'Deutsche Zeitschrift,' and the 'Revue Historique,' in support of the above statements.¹ Finally, it is believed that there is abroad as at home a fair promise for the future. One instance may perhaps again be given because it occurs in the case of a work which has aroused the special interest of the executive of this Society, of which the author is a corresponding member. This is the 'Quadripartitus' of Dr. Liebermann of Berlin, a work of research amongst the unclassified manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman laws and institutes which will be anxiously awaited by students of English constitutional history.

Let us then hope that these and many like works both at home and abroad will enable our succeeding surveys of historical research to record even more satisfactory results than those which have been referred to above.

¹ To the general reader, Mr. Sonnenschein's 'The Best Books,' the new edition of which is one of the landmarks of bibliography in recent times, will afford, perhaps, sufficient information on this point.

INDEX

AARON the Jew, 123
Achæan League, 64
Adescancastre, St. Boniface at, 82
Aigulf, his reception at Tours, 89
Aihill, an Irish monk, at Cologne, 94
Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 165
Alcaldus, Abbot of St. Martin of Cologne, 94
Alcuin, his correspondence with Ireland, 88
Aldhelm, Abbot, a friend of St. Boniface, 82
Alexander the Great, his conquest of Persia, 27
America, historical research in, 267
Andelys-sur-Seine, Irish at, 78
Anglo-Saxon laws, usury denounced in the, 108, 116
Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent, 82
 'Annals of the Four Masters,' 94
Antonelli, Cardinal, 189
Aquinas, St. Thomas, his opinion of usury, 106
Arab dynasty at Babylon, 16
Architecture under the Stuarts, 223 *et seq.*
 — — — — — **Commonwealth**, 223 *et seq.*
 — early types of, in England, 222, 223
Archytas, the Pythagorean, 64
Argos, defeat of the hoplites of, 68
Aristocracy, as the 'rule of the best,' 54, 56, 63
Aristotle, his opinion of usury, 106
 — his criticism of Plato, 55
 — his definition of constitutions, 56, 57
 — — — — — compared with Plato's, 57
Armarbaric, monastery of, 95
Armenian year, commencement of the, 13
Arnim, General von, 166, 167

Arneth, Von, 171
Art, connection of, with religious worship, 205
Arundel Society, publications of the, 266
Assyria, kings of, 10, 11, 12, 13
Assyrian tablets, system of the, 3
 — empire, fall of the, 26, 27
Athenian year, commencement of the, 13
Athenians, insularity of the, 55
Athens, pre-historic government of, 60
 — constitution of, 59, 60
 — political persecutions at, 61
Attigny, death confederation of, 85
Australia, official researches in, 264
Austria, Irish influences in, 96

BABYLON, pre-historic history of, 1, 2
 — history of, as treated by the Greeks, 2
 — — — — — by the Jews, 2
 — Greek civilization in, 27, 28
 — Nineveh, taken by, 25, 26, 42
 — subdued by Assyria, 26
 — intercourse of, with Assyria, 26
 — treaty of, with Assyria, 25
 — wars of, with Assyria, 25
 — supremacy of, 24, 27
 — capture and pillage of, 24, 39
 — captured by the Persians, 27
 — Royal Canon of, 7
Babylonia, early inhabitants of, 17, 18
 — the Semites in, 18
 — influence of prophets in, 19
 — early civilisation in, 20
 — conquest of, by the Akkadians, 20
 — Kassite invasion of, 20, 24, 25
 — Sumerian invasion of, 21
 — reconquest of, by the Akkadians, 21
 — Semitic renaissance in, 21, 22
BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY, 1-52
 — dynasties, chronology of, 14, 15

- Babylonian kings, dynasties of the, 3 *et seq.*, 29 *et seq.*
 — tablets in the British Museum, 3 *et seq.*
 — year, commencement of the, 13
 Bacon, his opinion of usury, 106
 Barnet, Jacob, the Jew, 140
 Basle, Irish remains at, 92
 Bavaria, Irish literature in, 96, 97
 — Irish missionaries in, 80
 Belus, legend of, 2
 — as a Semite ruler, 19
 Benedict the Jew, of York, 114
 — the Jew, admitted to the Guild of Winchester, 115
 Berkeley, Roger de, case of, 112
 Berne, Irish remains at, 92
 Barnini, the sculptor, saying of, about Charles I., 220
 Berosus, work of, 2, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26
 Bertin, 1
 Bibliography, progress in, 273
 Biography, progress in, 269
 Birrell, Augustine, 229
 Bobbio, monastery of, 91
 — Irish monastery at, 93
 — Columban's tomb at, 93
 — foundation of the monastery of, by Columban, 76
 — Irish MSS., at, 100
 — Gerbert, Abbot of, 93
 Bohemia, Frederick the Great's campaigns in, 161, 172, 173
 Boniface, Archbishop, his policy towards the Jews, 126
 Books, the 'Best,' 273
 Brakelond, Jocelyn, his account of usury, 108, 114
 Bregenz, Columban at, 80
 Bridlington, Prior of, case of, 137
 Briot, the engraver, in England, 221
 Bristol, Jewry in, 117
 British Museum, Assyrian and Babylonian tablets at, 3 *et seq.*
 Brittany, ancient Irish in, 77
 B o g l i e, Duc de, 171
 Browning, Oscar, on the teaching of history, 241
 — Life of Bartolomeo Colleoni, by, 266
 Brühl, Count, 164 *et seq.*
 Brun, Archbishop, at Cologne, 94
 Brymner, Douglas, 264
 Burgundy, Irish priests in, 95
 Bury St. Edmunds, Jews expelled from, 133, 134, 135
 — Moyses' Hall in, 117
 CALVIN, his persecution of science, 224
 Cambridge, Emanuel College in, 225
 — Jews' house in, 117
 — Judaism at, 118
 Camden Library, 270
 — Society, publications of the, 265
 Canada, archives of, 264
 Caorsini, expulsion of, from London, 136
 — origin of the, 109, 110
 Carlyle, T., 229, 230, 233
 Cavour, Count, 193
 Celcyth, synod at, 87
 Celestius, a reputed opponent of St. Jerome, 75
 Celius Sedulius, the poet, 75
 Chaldean dynasty at Babylon, 16
 Châlon-sur-Saône, Council of, 87
 Charlemagne, his patronage of Irish learning, 88
 Charles Albert, defeat of, 189
 Charles the Bald, his patronage of Irish learning, 88
 Charles I., courage of, 246
 — his encouragement of Art, 218, 219
 — portrait of, by Vandyck, 219
 Charles II., his patronage of music, 215, 216
 — his encouragement of Art, 217
 Chaucer, his opinion of usury, 107
 Chelles, Irish at, 78
 Chillenun, an Irish founder in France, 78
 Chlodoric II., 78
 Cibber, the sculptor, in England, 221
 Clairvaux, Bernard of, 89
 Clarke, Hyde, 72
 Clemens, director of the Court school of Charlemagne, 90
 Coire, cathedral of, Irish remains at, 92, 100
 Colleoni, Bartolomeo, life of, 266
 Colman, his journey to the East, 99
 Cologne, Irish bell at, 94
 — Irish abbey at, 94
 — St. Martin of, Irish abbey of, 94
 Colonies, historical research in, 264
 Columban, his mission to the Rhine, 80
 — his work on the Continent, 76, 77
 — monasteries of, monastic episcopacy in, 84
 — the 'rule' of, 78, 79
 Commonwealth, capabilities of the army of, the estimated, 150, 151, 152
 — coinage of the, 221, 222
 Constance, Irish convent in, 97

Constantinople, Irish at, 99
 Cooper, Samuel, painter, 217
 Copin, Jew of Lincoln, confession of, 119, 120
 Copenhagen, archives of, 264
 Corbie, Irish at, 78
 Cornuda, battle of, 189
 Creighton, Professor Mandell, 245
 Crete, constitution of, praised, 54
 Cromwell and France, 147 *et seq.*
 Cromwell, Oliver, encouragement of art by, 217, 219, 221, 222
 — portraits of, 217, 219, 220
 — conflicting views of his foreign policy, 147 *et seq.*
 — his love of music, 214
 — Jews restored by, 140
 Croton, revolutions in, 64
 — Pythagoreans at, 63, 64
 Croyland, Abbot of, and the Jews, 118
 Crusades, their effect on the movement against the Jews, 121–124, 127
 Cymmrodorion Society, 267
 Cyrene, Plato at, 63
 — revolutions at, 63
 Cyrus, King of Persia, captures Babylon, 27

 DANTE, his opinion of usury, 106
 David, an Irish teacher at Wurzburg, 96, 101
 Delgrande, Colonel, 187, 199, 200
 Democracy, growth of, in Greek cities, 54, 56
 Dicuil, an Irish writer, 91
 — his explorations in the East, 99
 — his geographical work, 91
 — abbey founded by, 78
 Diodorus Siculus, 62
 Dobdagrecus, an Irish bishop on the Continent, 83
 Domus Conversorum, foundation of the, 125
 Donat, Bishop, at Fiesole, 91
 — the 'rule' of, 79
 Drama, state of, under the Stuarts, 211
 — development of the, 210
 — attitude of the Puritans towards, 211, 213
 — of the Restoration, 213
 — the English, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 227
 Draper, Simon le, Mayor of Winchester, 115
 Dresden, the archives at, seized by Frederick the Great, 158, 159
 — Peace of, 1745, 161

Dublin, Record Office at, 263
 Dungal (or Clemens), Court poet to Charlemagne, 90
 — his work in France and Italy, 91
 Dunbar, battle of, 153

 EBERMÜNSTER, Irish at, 78
 Economic history, development of, 268, 269
 Edward I., expulsion of the Jews by, 103 *et seq.*
 — his feelings towards the Jews, 127
 — his exactions from the Jews, 132
 Egbert, his mission to the Frisians, 82
 Egypt, conquests by, 25
 — cuneiform tablets discovered in, 12
 — Semites in, 19
 Egyptian year, commencement of the, 13
 Eichstadt, Irish convent at, 97
 Elamites, conquest of Mesopotamia by the, 23, 24
 — conquest of Babylon by the, 26
 Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., her petition against the Jews, 132
 — — — Jews expelled by, from her towns, 133, 135
 — Queen of Edward I., benefits by the extortion of the Jews, 113
 Elias, an Irish teacher at Angoulême, 91
 — Abbot of St. Martin of Cologne, 94
 Eliphius, a Frankish martyr, 75
 Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Puritan art at, 225
 Emmanuel, Victor, 193
 England, early Church Councils in, 87
 Erfurt, Irish convent at, 97
 Eucharis, a Frankish martyr, 75
 Eugenius I., his mission to Bavaria, 80
 Eupatridæ, caste of the, at Athens, 60
 Evekhous or Nimrod, King, 15, 17
 Ewalds, Anglo-Saxon missionaries, 82

 FAIRFAX, Thomas, as a general, 155
 Faremoustier, Irish at, 78
 Farini, his narrative of the revolution at Rome, 1848–9,
 Fiacrius, an Irish founder in France, 78
 FitzIsabel, William, Sheriff of London, 109
 Flint, Professor, 233
 Flood, the dynasties before the, 15, 18

Foillanus, an Irish founder in France, 78
 Folk-lore Society, publications of the, 265
 France, historical research in, 264, 267, 270
 — reform of the Church in, 87
 — Irish missionaries in, 75 *et seq.*
 — monastic bishoprics in, 84, 85, 86
 FRANCE AND CROMWELL, 147-156
 — Cromwell's policy towards, criticised, 147 *et seq.*
 — refugee Jews in, 138, 139
 FREDERICK THE GREAT, HIS INVASION OF SAXONY AND THE PRUSSIAN MÉMOIRE RAISONNÉ, 157-175
 — his plan of campaign, 1756, 171-175
 Friars, attempted conversion of the Jews by, 124, 125, 128, 129
 Fridolin, his alleged Church work in France, 75
 Froude, J. A., 229, 230, 233
 Fulda, Irish MSS. at, 100
 Funck, Count, 167, 168
 Fursy, abbeys founded by, 78

GALLETTI, Colonel, 187, 200
 Gallic Church, ritual of the, 83, 84
 Gallus, Irish founder of St. Galle, 80
 Gascony, expulsion of the Jews from, 132
 Gaza, commencement of the year at, 13
 Gavazzi, Alessandro, 181, 182, 201
 Germany, historical research in, 264, 270
 — Irish churches in, 96, 97
 Ghele, relics of St. Dymphna at, 78
 Ghent, Church of, founded, 78
 — Scottish abbot of, 95
 Gibbons, Grinling, foreign origin of, 221
 Gladstone, W. E., 179, 189, 192
 Glennie, J. S. Stuart, 229
 Gloucester, alleged crucifixion by Jews at, 119
 Greek cities, common type of, 67
 — — political decadence of, 54
 — civilisation in Babylon, 27, 28
 — constitutions, 53 *et seq.*
 — warfare, political significance of, 67, 68
 Gregory IX., declares the Lincoln Jews innocent, 119
 — X., Pope, denunciation of usury by, 127

Gregory XVI., Pope, 179, 180, 182
 Grosseteste, his opinion of papal and Jewish extortions, 109
 Guildhall, historical research at the, 267

HAGENMÜNSTER,, Irish at, 78
 Hague, The, archives of, 264
 Haines, Herbert, 147
 Hanoverians, Art under the, 222
 Hawkins, Canon, 208
 Henry III., his excessive taxation, 112
 — his dealings with the Jews, 142
 — his extortions from the Jews, 115
 — V., Emperor, 96
 Herich, his poem on St. German, 91
 Herodotus, his myth of Semiramis, 15
 Hertzberg, Count, and the 'Mémoire Raisonné' of 1756, 158 *et seq.*
 Hingston, John, organist at Westminster, 215
 HISTORY, on learning and on teaching of, in schools, and on the results obtained by such teaching, 241-257
 — as a Science of Origins, 229 *et seq.*
 — as a Science of 'Descriptive Sociology,' 256
 — modern, neglected, in the teaching of schools, 242 *et seq.*
 Historical MSS. Commission, publications of the, 263
 — Societies, scheme for the discussion of 'Origins,' by 238-40
 Hohenburg, Irish at, 78
 Holdernesse, Earl of, 170
 Holland, Cromwell's policy towards, 148
 Honan, an Irish-Scottish monastery, 84
 — Abbey of, 85
 — Irish Abbot of, 95
 — Irish at, 78
 Honorius I., Pope, grant by, to Bobbio, 93
 Huguenot Society, publications of the, 266
 IAPYGES, defeat of Tarentines by the, 64
 Interdict, the, in Italy, 189, 190
 Ireland, intercourse of Continental churches with, 97
 — historical research in, 263, 266
 Irish, the Old, on the Continent, 75-102
 — influx of, to the Continent, 75, 76, 77
 — their influence on the Continent, 76, 77

- Irish, the founders of German Christianity, 82
- missionaries, unpopularity of, in France, 89
 - the, at Constantinople, 99
 - the, in the East, 98, 99
 - pilgrims to Jerusalem, 99
 - to Rome, 98, 99
 - the, in Burgundy, 95
 - — — Austria, 96
 - — — Bulgaria, 96
 - — — Germany, 80, 81
 - remains in Germany, 99, 100, 101
 - the, in the Netherlands, 81
 - in Thuringia, 81
 - MSS., characteristics of, 100
 - bishops, their influence in the episcopate of France, 84, 85, 86
 - Churchmen on the Continent, attacked by Rome, 87
 - Church, degeneracy of the, 101
 - influences upon Anglo-Saxon missionaries, 82
 - teaching on the Continent, 88 *et seq.*
 - learning at Cologne, 94
 - in Lorraine, 93
 - at Liège, 93
 - at Mayence, 95
 - in Northern Italy, 93
 - in Suabia, 91, 92
 - music on the Continent, 92, 101
- Italiot cities, 63, 64
- analogy of their history to that of Greece, 55
- Italy, national movement in, 1849, 178 *et seq.*
- Greek cities in, 63, 64
- Isaac the Jew, of Norwich, 115
- Israel, Bishop, an Irish scholar, 94
- JEW, THE EXPULSION OF, BY EDWARD I., 103-146**
- their relation with the Crown, 111, 112, 113
 - their dealings with lands of wards, 112
 - religious feeling against, 114, 115
 - causes of antipathy to, 104, 105, 143 *et seq.*
 - local expulsions of the, 133, 134
 - decree of expulsion against, 136, 137
 - banishment of, initiated, 128
 - causes leading to the expulsion of the, 130, 131
 - expulsion of, 1290, 138
 - drowned in the Thames, 138
- Jews, property of, at the expulsion, 137
- safe-conduct to, 137
 - debts due to, at the expulsion, 137
 - remaining in England, 139
 - interested protection of, by the Crown, 133, 142, 143
 - boycotting of, 126
 - outrages by, 114, 116, 127
 - ordinances against, 126, 128
 - forgeries and frauds by, 111, 131
 - alleged crucifixion of children by, 118, 119
 - religious feeling against the, 134
 - outbreaks against the, 113
 - massacres of, in 1189, 122
 - forbidden to possess arms, 121
 - denounced in the Anglo-Saxon laws, 108, 116
 - restrictions on the immigration of, 116
 - instances of toleration of the, 115
 - their skill in medicine and magic, 121
 - conversions of, 124, 125, 128, 129, 130
 - return of, to England under Cromwell, 140
 - treatment of the, in Modern Europe, 143-6
 - houses, architecture of the, 117
 - exchequer of the, 110
- Joce, Rabbi, Jew of Norwich, 109
- Joceus, the Jew of York, 114
- John, King, his protection of Jews, 115
- his dealings with the Jews, 142
- John, Bishop, his mission to the Wends, 95
- Jones, Inigo, 223, 224, 225, 227
- Joseph, a pupil of Alcuin, 90
- Judaism, encouragement of, 117, 118
- Jurnet the Jew, 109
- KARRAK, the city of, 23**
- Karsites, conquest of Babylon by the, 20, 21
- expelled by the Sumerians, 21
- King's Lynn, attack on the Jews of, 122
- Kleisthenes, at Athens, 61
- Kleomenes, the tyrant of Sparta, 65
- Kremsmünster, Irish remains at, 100
- LACOUPERIE, Professeur de, 234**
- Lagash, the city of, 23

- Lagny, foundation of the abbey of, 78
 Lambert, General, 155
 Langton, Stephen, his policy towards the Jews, 125
 Le Sueur, the sculptor, in England, 221
 Leicester, expulsion of the Jews from, 135
 Lely, Peter, painter, 217
 Leonard, George Hare, M.A., 103
 Leslie, David, compared with Cromwell as a general, 153
 Liebermann, Dr. Felix, 273
 Liège, repute of the University of, 93
 Lincoln, Jews' house in, 117
 — story of St. Hugh of, 116, 119, 120
 Livinus, an Irish missionary, assassinated in Flanders, 80
 Lobbes, abbey of, 85
 Lobositz, battle of, 160
 Lombard bankers employed by Edward I., 141, 142
 — usurers, banishment of, demanded, 129, 139
 — — origin of the, 109
 London, College of Music for, 214
 — Jewry in, 117
 — attack on the Jews in, 117
 — massacre of Jews in, 1189, 122
 — rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, 224, 225
 Loos, Count, 164, 165
 Lopes, Roderigo, the Jew, 140
 'Lorian Annals,' the, 89
 Lorraine, Irish influences in, 93
 Lure, foundation of the abbey of, 78
 Luxenil, Abbot of, 78, 79, 80
 — foundation of the monastery of, by Columban, 76
 — importance of, 78
 Lycurgus, tyrant of Sparta, 65
- MACHANIDAS, tyrant of Sparta, 65
 Maildulf, the Irish-Scotch Churchman, 82
 Malachy, a king of the Irish, his embassy to France, 88
 Malbys, Richard, the Jewish renegade, 123
 Malden, H. E., 53
 Malmedy, abbey of, 85
 Malta, story of the Jew of, 120
 Marcus, history of Britain by, 91
 Marianus Scotus of Regensburg, 97
 — life and works of, 96
 Mansuetus, Bishop of Toul, 75
- Mayence, Irish at, 78
 — Irish churches in, 95
 — Irish MS. at, 102
 — Irish pilgrims to, 95
 Mazzini, his national aspirations, 177, 178
 Meagher, an Irish teacher in France, 91
 Meaux, Irish at, 78
 — Synod of, 89
 Media, Akkadians and Sumerians in, 20, 21
 Median dynasty a misnomer, 16
 Medianum, Irish at, 78
 Megara, 65
 — Plato at, 61
 Mellifont, Irish monastery of, 82
 Memingen, Irish convent at, 97
 'Mémoire Raisonné' (1756) of Frederick the Great, 157 *et seq.*
 Mercherdach, the Irishman, at Regensburg, 97
 Metz, Irish at, 93
 — Bishop of, a friend of the Irish, 93
 — Irish MSS. at, 94
 Menzel, his secret correspondence with Frederick the Great, 158, 160
 Middlesex, records of, 267
 Milan, Irish at, 93
 Mimborinus, Abbot of St. Martin of Cologne, 94
 Mint, the, under the Commonwealth, 221
 Mitchell, Sir Andrew, his despatches from Germany, 158, 169, 170
 Mochta, a disciple of St. Patrick, 75
 Moengal, director of the school of St. Galle, 92
 Mölk, Irish establishment in Austria, 96
 Monk, George, as a general, 155
 Mont-des-Cynes, foundation of the abbey of, 78
 Montfort, Simon de, his expulsion of the Jews of Leicester, 135, 136
 Montier-en-Der, Irish at, 78
 Montier-la-Celle, Irish at, 78
 Mont St. Quentin, foundation of the abbey of, 78
 Moravia, Frederick the Great's campaigns in, 171, 172
 Morley, Professor Henry, 255
 Murbach, abbey of, 85
 — an Irish-Scottish monastery, 84
 — monastery of, 80
 Music, character of, after the Restoration, 215
 — College of, for London, 1856, 214

- Music, advancement of, during the Commonwealth, 214
- NABONASSAR, King of Babylon, reign of, 13, 15
- Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, 65
- Netherlands, Irish missionaries in, 80, 81
- Newcastle, Duke of, 166
- Newnham College, study of history at, 237
- 'New Pasch' at Rome, 1849, 184
- New South Wales, official history of, 264
- Nineveh, fall of, 26, 27, 50
— capture of, 42
— kings of, 10, 11, 12, 13
- Nimrod, as builder of the tower of Babel, 15
— as a Semite ruler, 19
- Nipur, the city of, 23
- Northampton, alleged outrage by Jews of, 131
- Norway, Irish bronzes found in, 100
- Norwich, story of St. William of, 118, 119
- Nottingham, records of, 268
- Nürnberg, Irish convent at, 97
- OLIGARCHY, growth of, in Greek cities, 54, 56
- Olilton, John, 213, 214
- ORIGINS, DESIRABILITY OF TREATING HISTORY AS A SCIENCE OF, 229-240
- Orthagoridæ, the tyranny of, 65
- Ostracism at Athens, 61
- Otto III., Emperor, and the Irish, 94
- Oxford, debts of the scholars of, to the Jews, 111
— Jewish converts at, 125
— outrage by a Jew at, 127
— Judaism at, 118
- PADUA, John of, 223, 227
- Painting, English School of, 216-222
— under the Commonwealth, 216 *et seq.*
— foreign schools of, in England, 216-221
- Palgrave, Reginald, 147
- Palmer, J. Foster, 177, 205
- Paris, Matthew, his opinion of the Lombard usurers, 109
- Paris, Scottish-Irish school at, 98
- Partition Treaty, 1745, 161, 165
- Paschal II., Pope, 96
- Paternus the recluse, burnt, 95
- Patesi, title of, 23, 25
- Pavia, Irish at, 93
- Peckham, Archbishop, his proceedings against the Jews, 126
- Peisistratos, tyrant of Athens, 60, 61
- Peregrines, the Irish so-called, 99
- Persian year, commencement of the, 13
- Peterborough, abbey of, debts of, to Jews, 110
- Pflugk-Harttung, Professor Julius von, 75
- Pilgrimages of the Irish to Rome and the East, 98, 99
- Pilligrin, Archbishop, at Cologne, 94
- Pinches, J. G., 4, 5, 6, 11
- Pipe Roll Society, publications of the, 265
- Pirmin, Irish abbot and bishop, 80
- Pius IX., Pope, 179, 180, 182, 188, 189, 190
- Plato as an archæologist, 66
— his travels, 61-65
— subject of his 'Republic,' 53
- PLATO, SEQUENCE OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN HIS 'REPUBLIC,' COMPARED WITH THE ACTUAL HISTORY OF GREEK CITIES, 53-74
- Poets, Cavalier and Puritan, 213, 214
- Poetry, historical importance of English, 247, 249
— under the Stuarts, 213
- Polybius, his opinion of Greek constitutions, 58, 64
- Portman, Richard, organist at Westminster, 215
- Prynne, his description of the Jews, 140
- Ptolemy, statements attributed to, 13, 15
- Puritans, development of fine arts under the, 205-228
— treatment of architecture by, 225-22
- Pythagoreans, the, in Italy, 63-64
- RADETSKY, Marshal, 189
- Records, Deputy-Keeper of the, 262, 263
- Regensburg, importance of the Irish Church of, 97
— Irish at, 96, 97
— Irish MSS. at, 100
- Rehais, abbey of, Irish at, 78
- Reichenau, Irish learning at, 91
— Irish remains at, 92
— monastery of, 80

- Remaclus, Bishop of Maestricht, 81
 Remiremont, Irish at, 78
 Rheinau, Irish learning at, 91
 Rheims, Irish bishop of, 95
 Richard I., outbreak against the Jews
 at the coronation of, 121, 122
 Riochat, Bishop, his Irish descent, 75
 Rolls Series, publications of the, 259–
 263
 Rome, celebration of Easter Day in
 (1849), 182, 183, 184
 — celebration of mass in, on Easter
 Day, 183, 184, 186, 201, 202
 — the first legion of, 187, 188, 199
 Romainmoutier, Irish at, 78
 Ropes, A. R., 157
 Rouen, Synod at, 87
 — Jewry at, 116
 Round, J. H., 272
 Russia, policy of, towards Frederick
 the Great, 162 *et seq.*
 — secret treaty of, with Austria, 1746,
 161, 162
- SABOT, Elias, the Jew, 140
 Sacro-Bosco, John à, at Paris, 98
 St. Benedict, the 'rule' of, supersedes
 Columban's, 79
 St. Blaise, convent of, founded, 91, 92
 St. Boniface, as bishop in Thuringia,
 83
 — his mission on the Continent, 82
 St. Bridget, chapel of, at Cologne, 94
 St. Columban of Ghent, 95
 St. Concord, shrine of, at Chambéry, 95
 St. Denis of Paris, abbey of 84
 St. Dymphna, relics of, in Belgium, 78
 St. Edmunds, story of St. Robert of,
 119
 — abbey of, evils of usury in, 108,
 109, 110, 114
 — Jews harboured in, 115
 St. Elignis, founder of Solignac, 78, 81,
 84
 St. Emmeran, Irish remains at, 97,
 100
 St. Findan, his life at Rheinau, 91
 — 'Life of,' 92
 St. Foillan, abbey founded by, 80
 St. Galle, 78
 — Irish MSS. at, 99
 — Irish learning at, 88, 91, 92
 — foundation of, 80
 — Irish MSS. and remains at, 92
 St. Goderic of Norfolk, 107
 St. Jerome, and the Scots or Irish, 75
 St. Kilian, Bishop, 81
- St. Louis, his feelings towards the
 Jews, 127 *et seq.*
 St. Martin of Tours, abbey of, 84
 St. Maurice-en-Valais, abbey of, 85
 St. Omer, abbey of, Irish at, 78
 — saints of, 78
 St. Patrick, his alleged sojourn in
 Gaul and Rome, 75
 St. Symphorien, Irish monks at, 94
 St. Vandrille, abbey of, Irish at, 78
 St. Victor, Richard of, at Paris, 98
 Salencia, founded on the fall of Baby-
 lon, 27
 Salzburg, Abbot of, 83
 — Bishop of, 96
 Samson, an Irishman, his opinions, 83
 — an Irishman in Armorica, 75
 Sardanapalus, legend of, 2
 Sargon, King of Babylon, his great-
 ness, 22, 23
 — King of Nineveh, record of, 10
 Saxe, Comte de, 164
 Saxony, Irish in, 94, 95
 — Electress of, 160
 — strategical importance of, in the
 campaign, 1756, 172–175
 — its share in the secret treaties against
 Frederick II., 161, 163 *et seq.*
 — Frederick the Great's invasion of,
 157 *et seq.*
 Sayce, Professor, 5, 6, 13, 14
 Schaffhausen, Irish remains at, 92
 Schools, on learning and on teaching
 history in, 241
 Science, emancipation of, from religion,
 224, 227
 Scotland, refugee Jews in, 138
 — Puritan sacrilege in, 226
 Scotus, John of Dunse, at Paris, 98
 — John, 'Erigena,' his influence on
 learning, 89, 90
 — Marianus, at Cologne, 94
 — Michael, at Paris, 98
 Scottish churches, degeneracy of the,
 101, 102
 — learning and churches on the Con-
 tinent, 97–102
 Sculpture under the Stuarts and Com-
 monwealth, 216–22
 Seckingen, foundation of the monas-
 tery of, 75
 Sedulius Scotus, works of, 93
 Selden Society, publications of the, 265
 Semiramis, myth of, 15
 Semitic race as possessors of Babylon,
 19, 20, 21, 22, 24
 — — conquered by the Akkadians, 20
 — — renaissance, 21, 22

Shakspeare, his opinion of usury, 106
 — plays of, 212
 Sicyon, Plato at, 65
 — revolutions at, 65
 Silesia, Frederick the Great's invasion of, 157
 Silesian War, the second, 161
 Simon, Thomas, engraver, 221, 222
 Spain, Cromwell's policy towards, criticized, 147 *et seq.*
 Sparta, constitution of, 54
 — described by Plato, 65
 Spencer, Herbert, 255
 SPOLA : EASTER DAY IN ROME, 1849, 177-204
 Spola, Emilio Luigi, 185
 — — — his history, 185 *et seq.*
 — — — documents illustrative of his career, 195-204
 Socrates, death of, 61, 63
 Solignac, Irish at, 78
 — abbey of, 84
 Solomon of Paris, the Jew, 123
 Sonnenschein, W. Swan, 273
 Stablo, abbey of, 85
 Stamford, attack on the Jews of, 122
 — Judaism at, 118
 Stevens, B. F., 267
 Stormont, Lord, 170
 Strabo, Walafrid, 89
 Strasburg, Irish bishops at, 95
 — Irish at, 78
 Stuarts, Art under the later, 222
 — encouragement of Art by the, 217 *et seq.*
 Suffolk, the Jews in, 114
 Sumerian dynasty in Babylon, 21
 Sweden, Cromwell's policy towards, 148
 Sylvester II., Pope, his 'Geometry,' 93
 Syracuse, Plato at, 61, 62
 — revolutions at, 62, 63
 Syrian year, commencement of the, 13

TAM RABBI, Jacob, 105
 Tarentum, colony of, 64
 Taylor, Simon, at Paris, 98
 Tennyson, his opinion of usury, 106
 Ten thousand, the retreat of, 51
 Theodulf, the Spanish poet, 90
 Thirty, the, at Athens, 61
 Thuringia, Irish missionaries in, 81
 Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, 11, 25
 Tilmon, Irish founder of St. Martin of Cologne, 94

Tilsit, secret articles of the Treaty of, 170
 Timocracy, definition of, by Plato, 54, 57, 58, 64, 65
 Toul, bishopric of, the Irish in, 94
 Tours, Gregory, Bishop of, 77
 Treviso, battle of, 189
 Trèves, Irish MSS. at, 94
 Tuotilo, the Irish harp taught by, 92
 Turenne, comparison of Cromwell with, as a general, 152
 Tyr, commencement of the year at, 13
 Tyranny, growth of, in Greek cities, 54, 56

ULTANUS, an Irish founder in France, 78
 Universities, historical research in the 268
 Usury, as practised by the Jews, 105
 — Christian opinion of, 105, 106
 — rate of, in the Middle Ages, 111

VANDYCK, Antonio, influence of, on English Art, 216 *et seq.*
 Vassor, convent of, Irish abbots of, 193
 Vatican, library of the, 264
 Verberic, Synod at, 87
 Vercelli, Metropolitan of, 195 *et seq.*
 Verdun, bishopric of, the Irish in, 94
 Verneuil, Synod at, 87
 Verrio Antonio, 217
 Vicenza, battle of, 188
 Victor Emmanuel, 193
 Vienna, Irish convent in, 97
 Virgil, Bishop, his visit to Palestine, 99
 Vitzthum, Count, 165 *et seq.*

WALES, historical research in, 267
 Walker, Robert, painter, 217
 Warin, Archbishop, at Cologne, 94
 Warsaw, Treaty of, 1745, 161
 Wends, mission of Bishop John to the, 95
 Westminster Abbey, organist of, 215
 Wigbert, Anglo-Saxon missionary in Frisia, 82
 William I., Jews introduced by, 142
 William II., his patronage of Jews, 117
 Williams, Sir Charles Hanbury, 168

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Williamson, George C., 241
 Willibrord, his mission to Frisia, 82
 Winchester, described as the English
 Jerusalem, 115
 Winnock, an Irishman, in France, 75
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 224
 Würzburg, Irish convent at, 97
 — Irish MSS. at, 95</p> | <p>YORK, Jewry in, 117
 — Jews of, massacred, 122, 123
 ‘Young Italy’ movement, 181</p> <p>ZACHARIAS, Pope, and the Frankish
 Church, 83
 — and the false priests, 86
 — Zürich, Irish scholars at, 91</p> |
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 * Safford, John Burham, F.G.S., Parkshot House, Richmond, Surrey.
 St. Clair, John, The Ewart High School, near Newton Stewart, N.B.
 Samuel, Harry Sylvester, 80 Onslow Gardens, S.W.

- Sanders, Samuel, 7 De Vere Gardens, Kensington Palace, W.
 Sastri, Pandit Hari Das, M.A., Principal of His Highness the Maharajah's College, Jeypore, India.
 Saunders, C. T., 20 Temple Row, Birmingham.
 Saunders, W. H. Bernard, 13 Albion Terrace, Oundle Road, Peterborough.
 Savery, George Mearns, M.A., The College, Harrogate.
 Searelle, Luscombe, c/o William Luscombe, Esq., J.P., Clarham, Plymouth.
 Seath, Thomas B., Sunnyoaks, Langbank, Renfrewshire.
 SEELEY, Professor J. R., M.A., 7 St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.
 Semple, James Charles, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S., 64 Grosvenor Road, Rathgar, Dublin.
 Shannon, John Strangman, Principal of St. Martin's School, York.
 Sharp, J. Fox, The Park, Hull.
 Sharples, George, Waterloo Road Board School, Manchester.
 Shaw, Giles, 72 Manchester Street, Oldham.
 SHENTON, FRANCIS KINGSTON JOHN, Cranleigh, Longton Avenue, Upper Sydenham, S.E.
 Shettle, Rev. George T., L.A., Evershot, Dorset.
 Shyamal Dâss, Kavi Raja, M.R.A.S., Poet Laureate and Member of the Mahad Raj Sabha of Meywar, Oodeypore, India.
 Sibbald, John Gordon Edward, Admiralty, Spring Gardens, and 3 Townshend Villas, Richmond, Surrey.
 Sikes, Rev. Thomas B., M.A., Burstow Rectory, Horley, Surrey.
 Simmonds, Charles, B.A., Winterbourne, North Parade, Menmouth.
 * Simpson, Alfred, 4 Fairlie Place, Calcutta ; London address, c/o Messrs. Kilburn, Brown & Co., 28 St. Mary Axe, E.C.
 Simpson, Percy, F.R.G.S., Fernholme, Eastbourne, Sussex.
 Skrine, Henry Duncan, Claverton Manor, near Bath.
 Smith, E. Cozens, F.S.S., 1 Old Broad Street, E.C.
 * Smith, The Hon. Sir Donald A., LL.D., 1157 Dorchester Street, Montreal, Canada.
 Smith, Hubert, Belmont House, Bridgnorth, Shropshire. *Present address* : 22 Rue Saint Sauveur, Perpignan, Pyrénées Orientales, France.
 Smith, Thomas Charles, Green Nook, Longridge, near Preston.
 * Smith, W. Bickford, Trevarno, Helston, Cornwall.
 Smyth, Francis Lea Stourbridge, B.A.Oxon, M.A.Sydney, F.R.G.S., Union Club, Sydney, and Woodlands, Edgecliff Road, Woollahra, Sydney, N.S.W.
 Spence, Thomas Edward Joseph, F.S.S.
 Spencer, Daniel, F.R.G.S., Teddington, S.W.
 Spry, John, Head Master, Grammar School, Romford.
 Spry, William James Joseph, R.N., F.R.G.S., Therapia, 'St. Andrew's Road, Southsea.
 Stack, G. A., Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta ; Editor of the *Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, India.
 Stanley, Percy Clifford, M.A., Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk.
 * Stanley, Walmsley, F.R.G.S., The Knowle, Leigham Court Road, Streatham, S.W.
 Stapley, Sir Harry, Bart., 98 Victoria Street, S.W.
 Stead, Richard, Grammar School, Folkestone.
 Stead, Thomas Ballan.
 Steel, Colonel John Philip, R.E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Gov. N.W.P. in the P.W. Department, Allahabad, East Indies.
 Steele, Joseph, Dingwall, Wellesley Road, Croydon.
 Steer, Henry, M.L.L.S., 1 Irongate, Derby.
 STEVENS, B. F., 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 Stevens, George Richard, Greenmount, Hong Kong.
 * Stewart, General Alexander P., LL.D., Oxford, Miss., U.S.A.
 Stewart, Rev. John, Penryn, Cornwall.

- Stockdale, Thomas, Spring Lea, Leeds.
 Stone, J. H., Principal, Kumbakonam College, Tanjore District, India.
 Stone, James Hy., Cavendish House, Grosvenor Road, Handsworth, Staffordshire.
 Stryker, General William J., Adjutant-General of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
 Stuart, Lieut.-Col. W., Tempsford Hall, Sandy, Bedfordshire.
 Stubbs, S., 269 Hampstead Road, N.W.
 Sulley, Philip, Parkhurst, Dumfries.
 Surr, Watson, 28 Threadneedle Street, E.C.
 Syms, Richard, Melbourne House, Barking Road, E.
- Taggart, Rev. T. A., 15 Derby Square, Douglas, Isle of Man.
 Taylor, Charles Edwin, M.D., F.R.G.S., St. Thomas, Danish West Indies.
 * Taylor, Miss Helen, Avignon, France.
 * Teele, Rev. Albert K., D.D., Milton, Mass., U.S.A.
 Tempamy, Thomas William, Sheen Park, Richmond, Surrey.
 THORNTON, Rev. Prebendary ROBINSON, D.D. (Oxon), Vicar of St. John's, Notting Hill; Boyle Lecturer; Vice-President of the Victoria Institute; 65 Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, W.
 Todhunter, Charles George, Kingsmoor House, near Harlow, Essex.
 Toplis, Miss Sophia Grace, 202 Camden Road, N.W.
 Torr, Herbert James, Riseholme Hall, near Lincoln.
 Tout, Professor T. F., Owens College, Manchester.
 Travis-Cook, John, 14 Parliament Street, Hull.
 Tregear, Edward, F.R.G.S., Park Street, Wellington, New Zealand.
 * Turton, Robert Bell, 24 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, and 7c Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.
- Udal, The Hon. John Symonds, Attorney-General of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
 Urquhart, Harold, W., Mona Villa, Church Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
 Urwick, Rev. W., M.A., 49 Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.
- Ventura, M., 18 Coleman Street, E.C.
 Villavicencio, R., M.D., Consulate of Venezuela, 18 Broadway, New York.
 Vincent, J. A., Needham Market, Suffolk.
 Vos-per-Thomas, Rev. Samuel, West Parley Curacy, Wimborne, Dorset.
- Wadling, Henry, Lamb Buildings, Temple, E.C.
 * Wagner, Henry, F.S.A., 13 Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, W.
 Wakefield, Rev. Henry Russell, The Vicarage, Sandgate, Kent.
 Wakefield, Rev. Thomas, F.R.G.S.
 Walford, John Edward, C.C., Knightrider Street, E.C.
 * Walker, Fountaine (of Foyers), Ness Castle, Inverness.
 Walker, J. M., M.A., 1 Lynette Avenue, Clapham Common South, S.W.
 Walker, J. Maddocks, "Mancunium," Anerley, Surrey, S.E.
 * Walker, Philip F., F.R.G.S., 36 Princes Gardens, S.W.
 * Walker, Robert, F.R.G.S., Woodside, Leicester.
 Ward, John Edward, F.R.G.S., 114 Grosvenor Road, S.W., and Woolmer Hill, Haslemere.
 Warre, General Sir Henry J., K.C.B., F.R.G.S., 35 Cadogan Place, S.W.
 Warren, Colonel Sir Charles, R.E., 44 St. George's Road, S.W.
 Warner, G. Townsend, B.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.
 Waterston, Rev. Robert C., Boston, Mass., United States.
 Webb, H. G., "Caradoc," Blandford Road, Bedford Park, W.
 Welch, Charles, Corporation Library, Guildhall, E.C.
 Wellwood, Rev. Nathaniel, Danforth, near Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
 West, James, Storrington, Sussex.

- West, William Nowell, F.R.G.S., 30 Montague Street, Russell Square, W.C.
 * Westminster, The Duke of, K.G., Grosvenor House, W.
 * Whatton, J. S., 18 Hyde Park Street, W.
 Wheeler, Frederic Elijah, 55 Lordship Park, N.
 Whitcher, John, 5 Chalcot Gardens, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
 * White, Right Hon. Sir William Arthur, G.C.M.G., C.B., LL.D., British Embassy, Constantinople.
 Whitehead, Sir James, Bart., Highfield House, Catford Bridge, S.E.
 * Whitehead, Rev. J. H., M.A., The Poplars, Alsager, Stoke-on-Trent.
 Whitehead, Rowland, Highfield House, Catford Bridge, S.E.
 Whitworth, Rev. Richard H., Vicar of Blidworth, Mansfield.
 Wilkinson, Alfred, 23 The Terrace, Kennington Park, N.
 Wilkinson, R. J., Trinity College, Cambridge, and Singapore, Straits Settlements.
 Williams, Major E. Calvin, LL.B., F.R.G.S., 1302 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.
 Williams, E. P., 3 Essex Villas, Watcombe Park, Blackheath, S.E.
 * Williams, Rev. J. D., M.A., The Vicarage, Bottisham, Cambridge.
 Williams, Miss Margaret Elizabeth, 63 Shaw Street, Liverpool.
 Williams, Richard, Celynog, Newtown, North Wales.
 Williamson, George Charles, Ph.D., Dunstonsbeorh, Guildford, Surrey.
 Williamson, John M., Melville House, Overhill Road, Dulwich, S.E.
 Winters, William, Churchyard, Waltham Abbey, Essex.
 Wodehouse, Lieutenant F. W., 28th Pioneers, Kirkee, Bombay Presidency, India.
 Wonnacott, J., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Wadham House, Liskeard, Cornwall.
 Wood, Alexander, M.A., Horsham, Sussex.
 Wood, William, 71 Ivanhoe Road, Denmark Park, Camberwell, S.E.
 Woodhouse, Alderman S., 50 High Street, Hull.
 Woodroffe, Prof. Latham James, M.A., 81 Waterloo Road, Dublin.
 Wright, Bryce M'Murdo, F.R.G.S.
 Wright, George R. N., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly.
 Wright, W. H. K., Free Library, Plymouth.
 Wurtzburg, John Henry, Clavering House, 2 De Gray Road, Leeds.
 Wyatt-Davies, Ernest, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Wyles, Thomas, F.G.S., The College, Buxton.
 Yates, James, Public Library, Leeds.
 York, The Archbishop of, York.
 Young, Miss Ernestine C., High School for Girls, 5 Portland Place, Bath.
 Young, Herbert Edward, Harbour Street, Ramsgate.

ZERFFI, GUSTAVUS GEORGE, Ph.D., F.R.S.L., 2 Albert Villas, Chiswick High Road, W.

Zerffi, Henry Charles, 21 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park, W.

The Council request that any inaccuracy in the foregoing list may be pointed out to the Secretary; and that all changes of address may be notified to him, so that delay in forwarding communications and the Publications of the Society may be avoided.

FOREIGN ASSOCIATIONS

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

The Royal Society of New South Wales.

AUSTRIA.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Académie royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.

BOHEMIA.

The Royal Society of Bohemia, Prague.

CANADA.

L'Institut Canadien-français d'Ottawa.
Geological and Natural History Survey Museum, Ottawa.
The Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

DENMARK.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Société d'Ethnographie, 28 Rue Mazarine, Paris.

GERMANY.

The Historical Society of Berlin.

ITALY.

The State Archives of Tuscany.
British and American Archæological Society of Rome, 76 Via della Croce, Rome.

PORTUGAL.

The Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

RUSSIA.

The Imperial Archæological Society, St. Petersburg.

SPAIN.

The Royal Historical Society, Madrid.
The National Archæological Society, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres, History, and Antiquities, Stockholm.

TASMANIA.

The Royal Society of Tasmania.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
The Historical Society of New York, 170 Second Avenue, New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
The Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Connecticut.
The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
The Historical Society of Rhode Island, Providence, R.I.
The Historical Society of Virginia, Richmond.
The Historical Society of Maryland, Baltimore.
The Historical Society of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.
The Historical Society of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota,
The Historical Society of South Carolina.
The Historical Society of Vermont.
The Historical Society of Michigan.
The Historical Society of New Jersey.
The Historical Society of Maine.
Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., care of E. G. Allen,
28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

LIBRARIES TO WHICH THE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS
ARE PRESENTED.

Mason Science College, Birmingham.
South Kensington Museum.
Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W.
Historical School, Cambridge, c/o O. Browning, King's College,
Cambridge.
Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.

Royal Historical Society,

11 CHANDOS STREET,

CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1888-9.

THE COUNCIL of the Royal Historical Society present their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows in a year which forms an epoch in the history of the Society. On July 31, 1889, Her Majesty the Queen, who had previously become Patron of the Society, was pleased to cause letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal granting to the Society a Royal Charter of Incorporation, thus enabling the Society to accomplish an object which it has had in view ever since it first came into existence.

In pursuance of the general objects of the Society, seven papers have been read at the Monthly Meetings, dealing with different periods of Ancient and Modern History. M. BERTIN read a paper on 'Babylonian History and Chronology.' Mr. H. E. MALDEN discussed 'Plato's Sequence of Forms of Polity as given in the Republic, examined in the light of the actual history of Greek Cities.' Mr. J. FOSTER PALMER treated of 'The Scandinavian Race in Britain,' while Rev. Dr. CUNNINGHAM and Miss E. LAMOND presented the Society with a paper on 'The Management of Manorial Estates in the XIIIth Century, with special reference to the unprinted Treatises of Walter de Henley

and Robert Grossteste, and to a MS. entitled "Senescalcia," being the basis of Fleta's chapters on the duties of Manorial Officers.' Rev. E. DYER GREEN, in a paper on 'The Battle of Brunanburh,' argued that the site of this battle was to be found in the peninsula of Wirral. Mr. HERBERT HAINES contributed an essay on 'History and Assassination,' dealing with the effects which political assassination had produced on the course of History. Mr. OSCAR BROWNING gave an account of Hugh Elliot's Mission to the Court of Naples in 1803-1806, which was afterwards published in the *Historical Review*.

The Cambridge branch unfortunately held no meetings during the year. It is much to be hoped that more activity should be thrown into the work of the Society at the Universities themselves, and that next year will not only give a better record for the branch at Cambridge, but will see the establishment of a branch at Oxford.

It was announced two years ago that a Conference had been held on October 22, 1887, on 'The Teaching of History in Schools.' A general wish was expressed by the teachers there present that encouragement should be given at the Universities to the study of History at Schools by the establishment of Entrance Scholarships and Exhibitions. Such prizes already exist at several Colleges in Oxford, among them Balliol, Christ Church, Merton, and Keble, and they have for some years past been offered at King's College, Cambridge. This year, however, for the first time, an Open Scholarship was actually awarded for History at Cambridge, while an Exhibition of £60 a year was given to a very deserving candidate. Similar prizes were offered at Jesus College, Cambridge, but no candidates of sufficient merit presented themselves. It seems that the study of History at Schools, as recommended in the Society's Conference, is gradually developing, and will probably lead to more considerable results.

A volume of the Society's transactions (Vol. IV., New Series) was issued to the Fellows in the course of the current Session.

The volume entitled 'England and Napoleon in 1803' attracted considerable attention in England and on the Continent, and had a fair sale independently of the copies supplied to Fellows. In pursuance of a similar object the Society is now undertaking the publication of two mediæval treatises on the management of Manorial Estates, edited by Dr. Cunningham.

The fourth and seventh objects of the Society, namely, the publication of translations of standard historical works and the offering prizes for historical essays, still remain unfulfilled. They have not, however, escaped the attention of the Council, and it is hoped that when larger funds are available they may be carried into effect.

During the Session thirty-five Fellows have been elected, eight have died, and four have resigned. It will be seen by the subjoined table that the Society numbered twenty-four more members on October 31, 1889, than it did on the corresponding date of last year. Among the additions to the Society in the present year are found several Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, to whom a circular had been sent to make them acquainted with the claims and objects of our Society. M. de Maulde, Secrétaire Général de la Société d'Histoire diplomatique, was declared a Corresponding Fellow.

The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll:—

	Oct. 31, 1888.	Oct. 31, 1889.
Ordinary Fellows	434	457
Life do.	91	91
Ex-officio do.	2	2
Honorary do.	59	59
Corresponding do.	24	25
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	610	634
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The Fellows who died during the Session were : Mrs. Jervis, Lord de Blaquière, Captain Bennett, A. C. Clark, W. H. Crawford, W. Edmunds, J. Haddock, W. N. Price.

It will be seen from the Treasurer's account of receipts and payments, which is appended, that the Capital Account has been reduced by the cost of the Royal Charter, the expense of which, however, proved to be less than the sum anticipated.

In conclusion, the Council beg again to draw the attention of the Fellows to the desirability of securing, in the interests of the Society, not only a larger number of adhesions to the Society from among their friends, but also a larger attendance at the Monthly Meetings. Fellows are further earnestly requested to submit papers to be read at the Meetings of the Society. The Council engages that all papers sent to them shall be carefully examined and reported upon.

The Council append the Treasurer's account of receipts and payments from the date of the last account, the 31st October, 1888, to the 31st October, 1889, and also the Capital Account.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

A Summary of all Moneys Received and Paid by him on behalf of the Society from November 1, 1888, to October 31, 1889.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance	.	.	.	O. Browning: further payment in respect of 'England and Napoleon in 1803,'	.	17	17 0
Subscriptions	.	.	49 16 3	Rent (18 months)	.	60	0 0
Publishers' Account: Publications sold (including £17. 4s.	.	.	408 18 0	Secretary	.	150	0 0
for sale of 'Domesday Studies')	.	.	72 11 3	Allowance for Office	.	25	0 0
				Librarian (2 years)	.	20	0 0
				Refreshments at Meetings (2 years)	.	18	7 7
				Spottiswoode & Co.: Printing	.	78	11 2
				Domesday Committee, proceeds of sale of 'Domesday Studies,' credited to R. Hist. S. publishing account, refunded	.	17	4 0
				Societies	.	7	6 0
				Postages and Petty Expenditure	.	16	15 7
				Bank Charges and Postages	.	6	6 0
				Proportion of Life Composition transferred to Capital Account	.	14	0 0
				Prince & Baugh: Stationery	.	2	13 0
				Whitehead & Co.: do.	.	2	15 8
				Subscription twice paid refunded	.	2	2 0
				Charter: amount overcharged and refunded by Home Office, retransferred to Capital Account	.	1	10 0
				Balance	.	90	17 6
						£531	5 6

Examined and found correct, (Signed) **WALTER HAMILTON,**
R. HOVENDEN,
G. H. OVEREND, } *Auditors.*

January 22, 1890.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Oct. 31, 1888.		Oct. 31, 1889.	
Balance	233 10 6	Expenses of Royal Charter	109 0 0
Two-thirds of One Life Composition	14 0 0	Balance	144 8 6
Charter expenses overpaid refunded	1 10 0		
Interest	4 8 0		
	<u>£253 8 6</u>		<u>£253 8 6</u>

We certify that the Bankers' Deposit Ledger was produced to us, showing £144. 8s. 6d. to the credit of the Royal Historical Society.

(Signed) WALTER HAMILTON, }
 G. H. OVEREND, } *Auditors.*
 R. HOVENDEN, }

January 22 1890.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's Accounts report :

We have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1888, to October 31, 1889, and find them correct, showing the receipts to have been £531. 5s. 6d., and the payments (including £14 transferred to the Capital Account) £440. 8s., leaving a balance on October 31, 1889, of £90. 17s. 6d. in favour of the Society.

(Signed) WALTER HAMILTON, }
 R. HOVENDEN, } *Auditors.*
 G. H. OVEREND, }

January 22, 1890.

Lastly, the Council append the Secretary's Financial Statement of the Assets and Liabilities of the Society on the 31st of October, 1889.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
on October 31, 1889.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Oct. 31, 1889.				Oct. 31, 1889.			
Balance on revenue account	90	17	6	Spottiswoode & Co. :			
Outstanding subscriptions :				Printing and binding			
Estimated recoverable	150	0	0	Trans., Vol. IV., &c.	200	0	0
Balance of publishers' account	3	5	8	Printing 250 extra copies of 'England and Napoleon'	19	0	6
				F. Algar, Advertisements of Meetings	7	3	0
				Mrs. Hubbard : Index to Trans., Vol. IV.	6	6	0
				Balance in favour of the Society	11	13	8
	<u>£244</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>£244</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>

January, 1890.

(Signed)

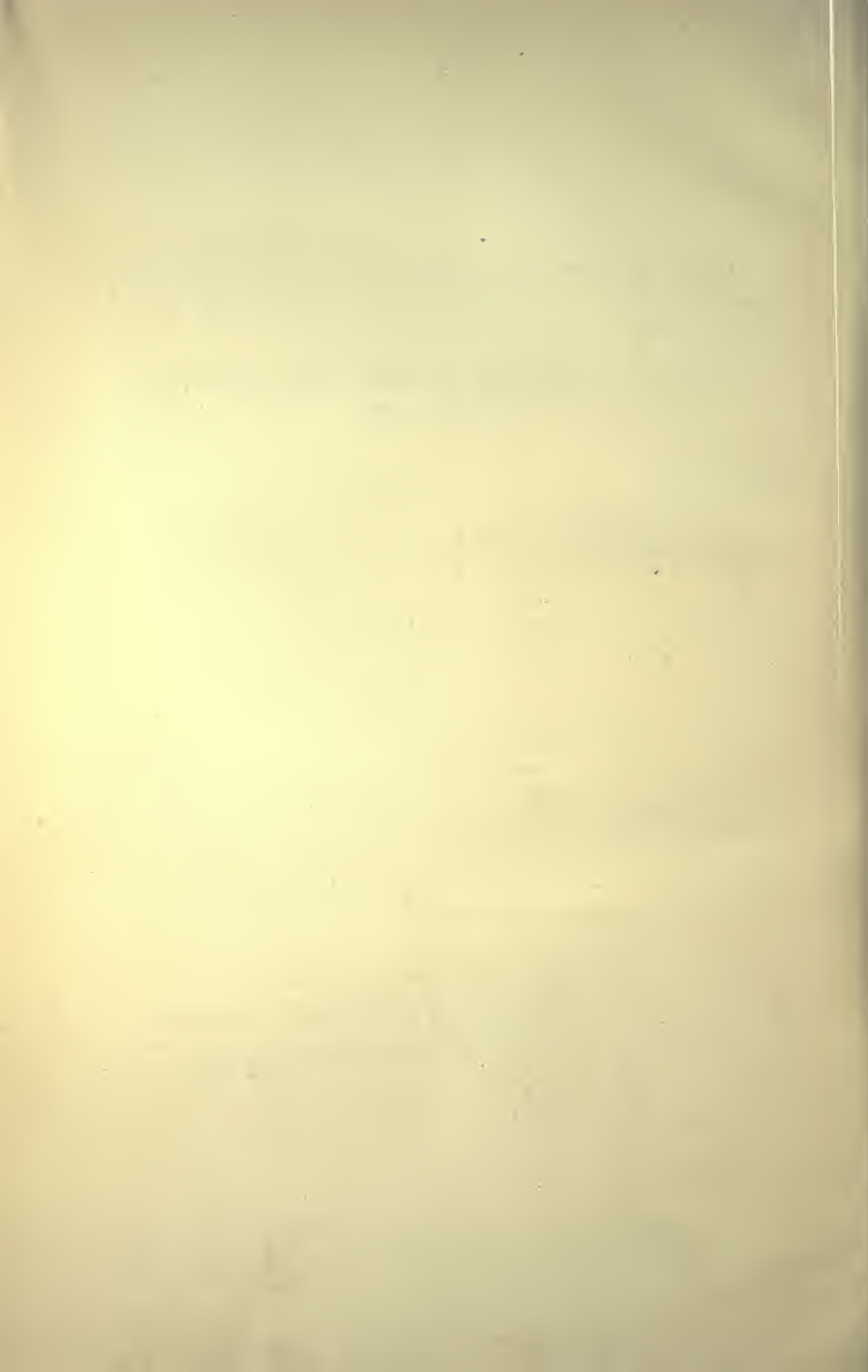
P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary*.

By Order of the Council.

(Signed) ABERDARE, *President*.

OSCAR BROWNING, *Chairman*.

P. EDWARD DOVE, *Secretary*.



Royal Historical Society,

20 HANOVER SQUARE,

LONDON :

January 27, 1891.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1889-90.

THE principal event in the history of the Royal Historical Society in the present year has been its removal to more commodious apartments at No. 20 Hanover Square. The experience of the Council has hardly been long enough to enable it to speak with certainty, but there is reason to believe that the new premises will be found in every way an improvement on the old. The year is also remarkable for a very large accession to the number of Fellows, no less than a hundred and fifty-seven having been elected.

The papers read during the past year have quite maintained the usual standard of interest and excellence. Mr. A. L. LIBERTY wrote a paper on 'De Libertat,' a story of the submission of the city of Marseilles to Henry of Navarre. This was afterwards expanded into a separate volume. Mr. GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON wrote a valuable paper on the 'Teaching of History in Schools,' and on the results obtained; Mr. J. FOSTER PALMER gave an account of some unpublished papers relating to the officiating priest at the Easter Celebration in Rome 1849, entitled 'A Page in the History of Italian Unity'; Mr. ARTHUR A. ROPES, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, contributed a paper full of original research upon 'Frederick the Great's Invasion of Saxony, and the Prussian Mémoire Raisonné'; Mr. HUBERT HALL read a

learned paper based on documents from the Record Office, entitled 'The King's House,' a retrospect from Burke's Act; Mr. J. S. STUART GLENNIE gave his views on one of the principal objects of the Royal Historical Society in a paper entitled 'The Desirability of Treating History as a Science of Origins'; Mr. G. H. LEONARD, of Clare College, Cambridge, closed the series with a paper on the 'Expulsion of the Jews in 1290.'

The volume containing treatises of Walter of Henley and others on the 'Management of the Manorial Estates' is now complete, and in the hands of members.

During the past Session one hundred and fifty-seven Fellows have been elected, eight have died, eighteen have resigned, and a hundred and six who had ceased to pay their subscriptions have been removed from the Roll. The Society now numbers twenty-five members more than it did last year, but this comparatively slight increase of numbers does not, for the reasons above stated, adequately represent the real development of the Society in strength and efficiency.

The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll compared with that of last year :—

	Oct. 31, 1889.	Oct. 31, 1890.
Ordinary Fellows	457	483
Life do.	91	91
Ex-officio do.	2	2
Honorary do.	59	58
Corresponding do.	25	25
Total	<u>634</u>	<u>659</u>

The Fellows who have died during the past Session were: The Empress of Brazil, Sir J. Picton, Rev. E. R. Christie, Rev. A. D. Crake, T. Belk, F. Crowe, G. B. Jay, and J. Kaleski.

The Council believe that the Treasurer's account of receipts and payments, which is appended, will show a more satisfactory balance than at any previous time during the existence of the Society.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

A Summary of all Moneys Received and Paid by him on behalf of the Society from November 1, 1889, to October 31, 1890.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance	.	.	.	Rent (6 months)	.	.	20 0 0
Subscriptions	.	.	90 17 6	Secretary	.	.	150 0 0
Publishers' Account : Publications sold	.	.	894 10 8	Allowance for Office	.	.	25 0 0
	.	.	3 3 8	Clerk	.	.	12 10 0
				Spottiswoode & Co. : Printing	.	.	219 19 6
				J. S. Stuart Glennie : Corrections of Proof	..	.	2 10 6
				Mrs. Hubbard (Index)	.	.	6 6 0
				F. Algar (Advertisements)	.	.	13 16 6
				Societies	.	.	2 1 0
				Postages and Petty Expenditure	.	.	19 14 2
				Bank Charges and Postages	.	.	4 4 0
				Proportion of Life Composition transferred to Capital			
				Account	.	.	140 0 0
				Whitehead & Co. : Stationery	.	.	0 16 0
				Subscription twice paid refunded	.	.	3 3 0
				Balance	.	.	368 11 2
							£988 11 10

Examined and found correct,

(Signed) R. HOVENDEN,
B. F. STEVENS, }
Auditors.

January 23, 1891.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

Oct. 31, 1889.	£	s.	d.	Oct. 31, 1890.	£	s.	d.
Balance	144	8	6	Balance	290	1	3
Two-thirds of One Life Composition	140	0	0				
Interest	5	12	9				
	<u>£290</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>£290</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>

We certify that the Bankers' Deposit Ledger was produced to us, showing £290. 1s. 3d. to the credit of the Royal Historical Society.

(Signed) R. HOVENDEN, }
B. F. STEVENS, } *Auditors.*

January 23, 1891.

The Auditors appointed to examine the Society's Accounts report :

We have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1889, to October 31, 1890, and find them correct, showing the receipts to have been £988. 11s. 10d., and the payments (including £140 transferred to the Capital Account) £620. 0s. 8d., leaving a balance on October 31, 1890, of £368. 11s. 2d. in favour of the Society.

(Signed) R. HOVENDEN, }
B. F. STEVENS, } *Auditors.*

January 23, 1891.

Lastly, the Council append the Secretary's Financial Statement of the Assets and Liabilities of the Society on October 31, 1890.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
ON OCTOBER 31, 1890.

Oct. 31, 1890.	£	s.	d.	Oct. 31, 1890.	£	s.	d.
Balance on Revenue Account	368	11	2	Rent (6 months)	20	0	0
Outstanding Subscriptions: Estimated recoverable	52	10	0	Librarian	10	0	0
Balance of Publishers' Account	11	15	7	Refreshments at Meetings	10	4	4
	<u>£432</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>	Spottiswoode & Co.	120	19	0
				Balance in favour of the Society	271	13	5
					<u>£432</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>

January 1891.

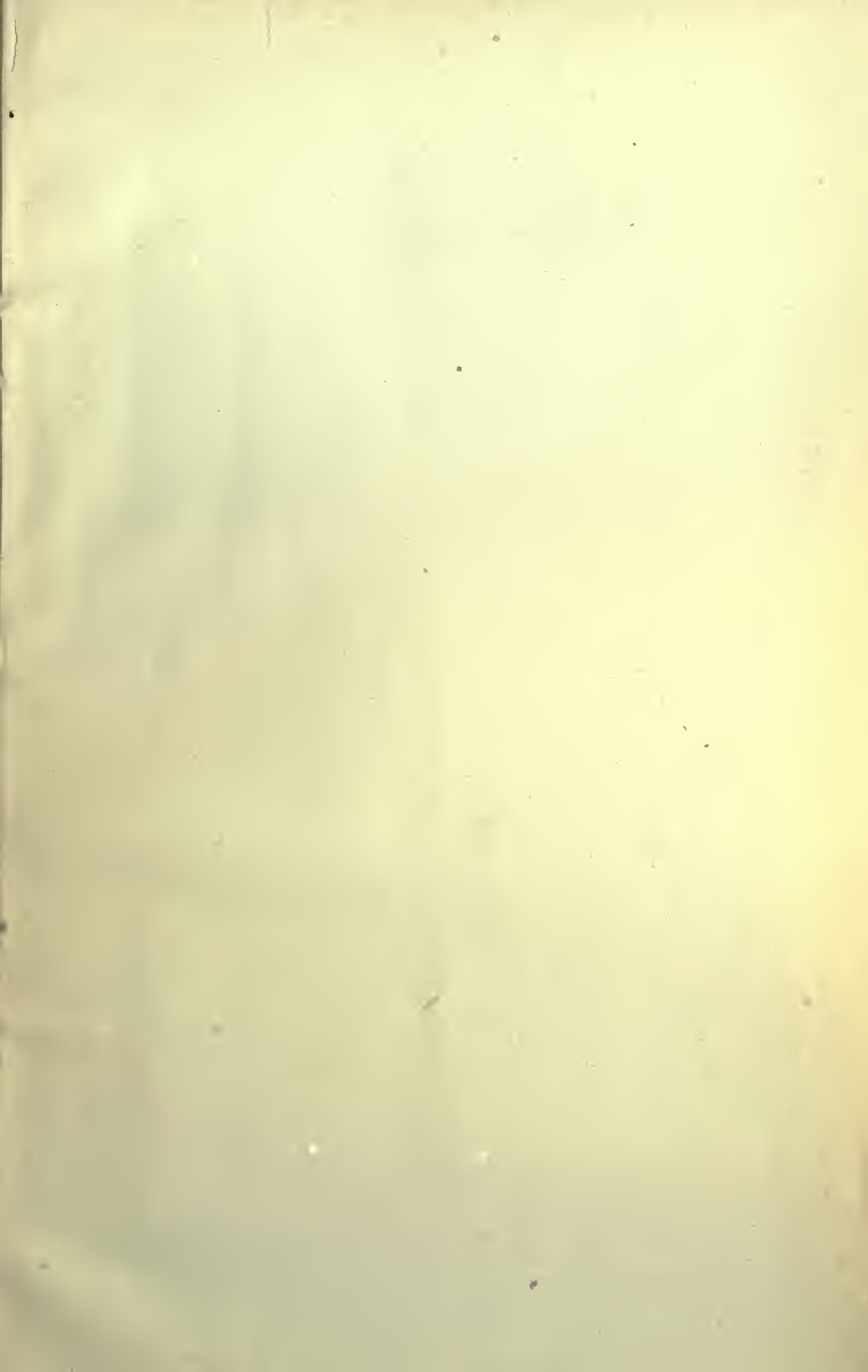
By order of the Council,
(Signed)

P. EDWARD DOVE,
Secretary.

President.

Chairman.

Secretary.



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Royal Historical Society,
London

Transactions

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